

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 188 818

RC 012 087

AUTHOR Avena, J. Richard: And Others
TITLE Texas: The State of Civil Rights. Ten Years Later, 1968-1978.
INSTITUTION Texas State Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Austin.
SPONS AGENCY Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE Jan 80
NOTE 80p.: For related documents, see RC 012 087-90. Small type may be marginally legible.
AVAILABLE FROM Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402 (Stock No. 005-000-00232-0).

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC04 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Blacks: Case Studies: *Citizen Participation: City Government: *Civil Rights: Employment Level: Employment Practices: *Females: Judges: Justice: Local Government: *Mexican Americans: Military Personnel: Minority Groups: Political Power: *Power Structure: State Government: State History
IDENTIFIERS *Texas: Texas (San Antonio)

ABSTRACT

It has frequently been said that the past decade has been one of major advances for Black and Mexican American Texans. A study by the Texas Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights reported that, to the contrary, Texas, at all governmental levels, consistently underemployed, underrepresented, underutilized and underestimated minorities and women. The study centered on minority and female participation in the educational process; employment at the city, county, state, and federal levels; political participation; and the administration of justice. Because of the state's size and diversity, analysis was directed to the north, south, west, east, central, and Panhandle-High Plains regions of Texas. Among the conclusions drawn were: (1) while minorities were frequently employed in rough equivalence to their percentage of the population, both in terms of responsibility and salary they were almost always concentrated in the lowest levels; (2) educational decisions at all levels were almost exclusively in the hands of Anglo males; (3) Anglo males had dominated upwards of 90 to 100 percent of elected positions at all levels; and (4) minority groups were represented in very small numbers among those who actually enforced Texas laws, a pattern particularly disturbing among the state's judiciary. Part Four of a larger report submitted by the Committee, this document summarizes all the study findings. The document ends with a case study of San Antonio which provides an in-depth look at the involvement of minority group members and women in policy making and decision making roles of selected agencies/institutions.

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Ten Years Later...1968—1978

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Texas: The State of Civil Rights



Ten Years Later, 1968—1978

A report prepared by the Texas Advisory Committee
to the United States Commission on Civil Rights

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Texas: The State of Civil Rights

Ten Years Later, 1968-1978

ABSTRACT



These documents summarize the findings of recent studies conducted by the Texas Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. They report on the levels of participation of women and minority-group members in policy and decision-making aspects of public employment, public education, administration of justice and the political processes of the State of Texas. In addition, a case study of the San Antonio SMSA is included. The case study provides a more in-depth look at the involvement of minority group members and women in policy-making and decision-making roles of selected agencies/institutions in the public and private sector of San Antonio.

The report is published in four parts: three volumes which contain the major study, complete with statistical data, and a 71-page summary of the entire report.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The preparation of this report was directed by J. Richard Avena, director of the Southwestern Regional Office of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, with assistance from John F. Dulles, III, deputy regional director.

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Final preparation for publication was the responsibility of the staff of the Publications Support Center.

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1. Introduction

Probably the most universally known fact about Texas is its size. If you drive from Houston in the eastern part of the State to Los Angeles, California, you are more than halfway on your journey when you pass out of Texas at El Paso. Similarly, if you drive from Brownsville, on the Mexican border, to Canada, you are just a few miles short of halfway when you pass out of Texas at Texline, which is located at the northernmost part of the Panhandle (see figure 1). The vastness of Texas is divided into 254 counties, more than 1,000 school districts, and almost an equal number of cities.

According to the 1970 census, there were approximately 11.2 million Texans of whom 2 million were Mexican American and another 1.4 million were black. In other words, more than 30 percent of Texans are minority-group members. Texas, the fourth most populous State in the Union, ranks second in number of Mexican Americans and third in number of blacks.¹ While blacks and Mexican Americans together make up slightly less than one-third of the State's population, they are almost two-thirds of those at or below the poverty level.² The unemployment rate among minority-group members in Texas is approximately twice that of Anglos.³ Blacks and Mexican Americans are far behind other Texans in educational achievement.⁴ Almost two-thirds of the Texas prison population is minority.⁵ The number of Mexican American and black elected and appointed officials lags far behind the percentage that they represent in the population.

¹ U.S., Bureau of the Census, *Census of the Population: 1970 Characteristics of the Population*, vols. 1-32.

² U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, *The Unfinished Business . . . Twenty Years Later* (1977), pp. 184-86.

It is frequently said that the past decade has been one of major advances for black and Mexican American Texans. In 1978 the Texas Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights decided to measure the state of civil rights and what, if any, change has occurred in Texas since 1968. This 10-year period was chosen because it was in 1968 that the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights held hearings to measure and evaluate the problems of civil rights in Texas. To make this a workable task, the Committee decided to look at minority and female participation in the educational process, public employment, the political process, and minority representation in the administration of justice. In the areas of the administration of justice and political participation, it was possible to compare the status of things in 1968 with that in 1978. Unfortunately, in the employment and education situations, insufficient data existed to make such comparisons, and the Committee was forced to use the most recent information available.

Because of the size and diversity of Texas, the State was analyzed by six regions that are geographically, culturally, and politically distinct: south Texas, west Texas, east Texas, Panhandle-High Plains, north Texas, and central Texas.

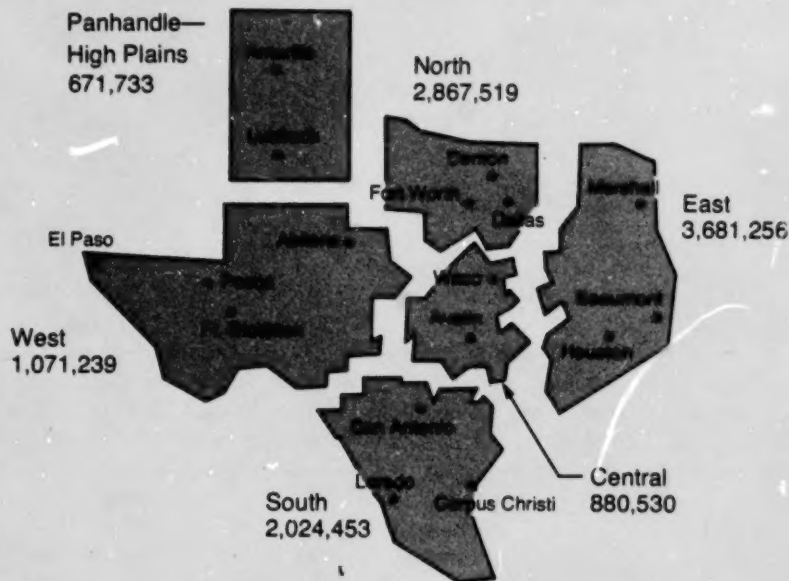
The regional nature of Texas is well-recognized among scholars and residents of the State. The humid, piney woods of east Texas stand in marked contrast to arid west Texas. The plains and icy winters of the Panhandle are alien to semitropical south Texas. The rugged countryside dotted with

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

Figure 1
State of Texas and Its Regions



U.S. Census of Population, 1970 as reported in
Information Please Almanac, 1979 Information Please
Publishing Co., New York, p. 780

small farms in German-influenced central Texas stands in contrast to the wide expanses and sophistication of Dallas-dominated north Texas.

While the regional nature of Texas is well-established, the exact lines of division and what counties belong in each area have never been the subject of total agreement. Proposals to divide Texas into varying numbers of regions and on different bases are many.⁶ The rationale for the regions used in this study is derived primarily from historical, cultural, racial, linguistic, and economic facts of Texas life. In addition, it recognizes that geographic concentrations of blacks and Mexican Americans, such as found in Texas, deeply affect the nature of economic, social, and political interaction between minority groups and Anglos.⁷ The regions were drawn, then,

to balance these factors in order to sharpen areas of analysis.

Probably the most graphic demonstration of the need to divide Texas into regions for analysis is in the very size of the State. In terms of population, Texas is impressive. San Antonio, the *third* largest city in Texas, has a greater population than the populations of eight States.⁸

A short description of the regions of Texas is necessary as an introduction to the State. Unless otherwise indicated, the references to population throughout this study are from the 1970 U.S. census of population. The term Mexican American is to be considered interchangeable with "Hispanic" and "Spanish surnamed." While there are technical differences among the terms, Texas has only a very small number of Hispanics or Spanish-surnamed

⁶ See Griffin Smith, Jr., "Divide and Conquer," *Texas Monthly*, January 1975, contained in *Texas Monthly's Political Reader* (Austin, Tex.: Sterling Smith Publishing Co., 1978), pp. 206-11.

⁷ Daniel J. Elazar, *American Federalism: A View from the States*, 2nd ed. (New York: Crowell, 1972).

⁸ The 1970 population of San Antonio was 722,666. The States are Nevada, 488,738; Alaska, 302,173; Delaware, 548,104; North Dakota, 617,761; South Dakota, 666,257; Vermont, 444,732; and Wyoming, 332,417; Montana, 694,409.

individuals who are not Mexican American. Similarly, the terms Anglo or white Anglo are used interchangeably to refer to persons of Caucasian ancestry other than Mexican Americans. The study uses "Anglo" in the context in which it is used in Texas, where the population is considered to be composed primarily of blacks, Mexican Americans, and Anglos. (Other racial groups have not been included here, so in some instances the total percentages may be slightly less than 100.)

South Texas

South Texas is a ranching and farming area that includes 40 counties and 2,024,453 persons. The State's greatest concentration of Mexican Americans is in this region, which is 52.5 percent Hispanic and 4.7 percent black. The largest city in the area is San Antonio, itself more than 50 percent Mexican American. Other major cities include Brownsville, McAllen, Laredo, and Corpus Christi. Spanish is widely used, and the cultural heritage from Mexico is evident to even the most casual observer. Relations between Anglos and Mexican Americans are polarized at times, and allegations of discrimination are frequent. This region is heavily Democratic.

West Texas

West Texas is an arid, sometimes desert, area that is devoted to irrigated farming as well as cattle and sheep ranching. Although oil is common to all regions of Texas, west Texas includes some of the largest production areas in the continental United States. The region has 50 counties with a population of 1,071,239 persons, of whom 31.4 percent are Hispanic and 3.8 percent are black. With the possible exception of El Paso, the voting patterns of the region are predominantly conservative.⁹ The largest cities are El Paso, Midland, Odessa, and San Angelo.

East Texas

The greatest concentration of black Texans is found in east Texas. This region has 61 counties that together are 20.7 percent black and 7.7 percent Mexican American. Social relationships between blacks and whites in this region are frequently the source of problems, and racial segregation is com-

mon.¹⁰ With the exception of the Houston area, and cities such as Galveston, Beaumont, Port Arthur, and Tyler, the region is rural in nature. Timber, fishing, farming, and cattle form the basis of the rural economy while petrochemicals, shipping, and manufacturing support the cities. Fundamentalist religions predominate among both blacks and whites. With the exception of Houston, which has Republican tendencies, the voting patterns are primarily conservative and Democratic.¹¹

Panhandle-High Plains

The Panhandle-high plains region is the vast northwestern plateau of Texas. This arid farming and ranching region composed of 44 counties was settled first by ranchers who carved out vast empires after the Civil War. Later, midwestern farmers moved in from States such as Kansas and Oklahoma, bringing the conservative political convictions that have become traditional to the area.¹² The region has 671,733 persons, of whom 14.2 percent are Mexican American and another 5 percent black. The largest cities are Lubbock and Amarillo.

North Texas

The 34 counties comprising the north Texas region have a combined population of 2,867,519 persons, of whom 12.9 percent are black and 5.7 percent Mexican American. Small black-land farms dot the rural area of north Texas, while the Dallas-Fort Worth metroplex has become a major banking and commercial center. The political character of the region is mixed. All areas, however, can be termed conservative.

Central Texas

There are 25 counties in this region, which is the geographical center of the State. Its population of 880,530 includes 11.0 percent black and 12.2 percent Mexican American. The southern portion of the region includes a number of counties that have been heavily influenced by German immigrants.¹³ The northern area of the region, around Waco, shares many of the characteristics of east Texas.¹⁴ The

⁹ Charles Cottrell, *A Report on the Participation of Mexican Americans, Blacks and Females in the Major Political Institutions and Processes of Texas, 1968-1978*, p. 6 (prepared under contract for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Southwestern Regional Office, relying on Clifton McClesky et al., *The Government and Politics of Texas*, 6th ed. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1978), chap. 4).

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 7.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid., p. 6.

¹³ Ibid., p. 8.

¹⁴ Ibid.

politics of the area are conservative and Democratic.¹⁸ However, the Republican party has made inroads in recent years. The largest cities are Austin and Waco.

The Study

This document is a condensation of several research studies by Intercultural Development Research Associates, Cultural Research Associates, and the staff of the Southwestern Regional Office of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. The summary begins with an analysis of employment at the city, county, State, and Federal levels in Texas. It demonstrates the overall racial, ethnic, and gender makeup of government employees in Texas.

The one major conclusion of this portion of the study is:

While minorities are frequently employed in rough equivalence to their percentage of the population, both in terms of responsibility and salary they are almost always concentrated in the lowest levels. The situation for females of all groups is similar, but minority females are consistently found at the bottom of the ladder.

The next portion of the study examines three areas of particular interest to minority people in Texas: education, political participation, and the administration of justice.

The most striking conclusion from the education study is:

Educational decisions at all levels are almost exclusively in the hands of Anglo males.

In the 1978-79 school year, for example, of the 1,066 superintendents of schools in Texas, only 29 (2.7 percent) were Mexican American; 2 (0.2 percent) were black, and 1 (0.09 percent) was an Anglo female. Stated another way, while minority students made up approximately 40 percent of the pupils in Texas, over 97 percent of the superintendents were Anglo males.

In the area of political participation, the study demonstrates that during the past decade:

Anglo males have dominated upwards of 90 to 100 percent of elected positions at all levels. Blacks have been virtually excluded from elected positions, and while there are somewhat more Mexican Americans elected, these are almost all found in south Texas counties where they make up over-

whelming majorities of the population. Females are also excluded, but tend to fare marginally better than minority males. Minority females are the most underrepresented group among elected officials.

In general, the smaller the electoral unit, such as single-member districts, the more minorities are elected.

In the area of administration of justice, the study reveals a pattern consistent with that of political participation:

Minority groups are represented in very small numbers among those who actually enforce Texas laws. This pattern is particularly disturbing among the State's judiciary. All of the black district judges in Texas can be counted on the fingers of one hand and all of the Mexican American district judges on the fingers of both hands.

For females the pattern is equally dismal:

The overwhelming majority of women involved in the administration of justice are secretaries.

The situation of minority females is especially grave.

For example:

There has never been a Mexican American female State district judge in Texas, and the first black female did not take such office until December of 1978.

The document ends with a case study on the city of San Antonio. The conclusions are again a restatement:

Minority persons are consistently found in positions of low responsibility and low pay in both the public and private sector.

For women, the picture is very similar:

Female employees overwhelmingly tend to be secretaries. Minority females again come out as the most underutilized group.

When all parts of the study are folded together, it grinds out one conclusion:

Texas, at all governmental levels, consistently underemploys, underrepresents, underutilizes, and underestimates minorities and women. The pervasiveness of this pattern over a period of 10 years belies any argument that acceptable progress is being made in the direction of equal opportunity for all Texans.

On the contrary:

In case after case, the improvement since 1968 has been only minimal.

¹⁸ Ibid.

2. Employment

The overall employment profile of a company tells a great deal about the attitudes of its managers toward women and minorities. If all or virtually all of the female workers are secretaries and the minorities are janitors or at the lowest wage levels, then serious questions are raised about the company's commitment to equal employment opportunity. In the same vein, if a governmental agency has most of its minority or female work force in traditional service or clerical jobs, a question is raised about the agency's commitment to affirmative action and its attitudes toward women and minorities. In other words, there is a question of whether the services provided by a governmental agency can be expected to be fairly delivered if that agency does not integrate its work force. When underemployment and underutilization of women and minorities is widespread among Federal, State, county, and municipal agencies, then even more questions must be raised about the capacity of the governments to be fair.

The status of minority and female employment at virtually all governmental levels in Texas raises such questions because in case after case women, Mexican Americans, and blacks are concentrated in jobs with minimal responsibility and low wages.

Considerations

Examining equality in employment opportunity calls for looking first at overall employment and asking if the percentage of female and minority employment fairly reflects the percentage of these groups in the population or available labor force. The next question is whether minorities and women

are found at all levels of responsibility or mainly in traditional areas such as clerical for women and service and maintenance for minority men. In this connection, it is also important to see if women and minorities are employed overwhelmingly by governmental agencies such as welfare or health or if they are employed by all types of agencies. Finally, it is crucial to look at the salary breakdown. Many jobs have titles or classifications that appear significant, but the level of pay indicates that they are not.

After applying these tests to many governmental agencies, patterns sometimes appear. The clarity of these patterns and the frequency of their repetition indicate the areas in which improvement must be made.

Data Examined

The most up-to-date and complete employment information for the Federal, State, county, and municipal governments in Texas is for the year 1977. For the Federal Government, these data come from the Office of Personnel Management (formerly the U.S. Civil Service Commission), which reports information supplied by the individual agencies. County and city data come from a survey of municipal and county governments that is done by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). Again, the governments themselves compile the information. The State employment profile is also compiled and submitted to the EEOC each year. City, county, and State governments use form EEO-4 to report their employment information, which is sometimes called EEO-4 data.

Federal Employment in Texas

As of November 30, 1977, 134,254 Texans worked for the U.S. Government.¹ Anglos made up 67.4 percent (47.0 percent male and 20.4 percent female), Mexican Americans 20.9 percent (16.8 percent male and 4.1 percent female), and blacks 11.2 percent (7.2 percent male and 4.0 percent female).² This means that Federal employment was roughly equivalent to the racial and ethnic breakdown in Texas according to the 1970 census (68 percent Anglo, 18 percent Mexican American, and 12 percent black).³ Although this pattern appears to be fair, it masks severe examples of unequal pay and opportunity for Mexican Americans and blacks. In the case of women, who are only 28.7 percent of overall Federal employment in Texas, underutilization was obvious.⁴ Mexican American women were particularly underrepresented in the Federal work force: while men were 69.8 percent of the Anglo and 64.2 percent of the black work forces, respectively, in the Mexican American work force they were 80.2 percent.⁵

Thirty-seven agencies had 25 or more employees,⁶ and the median salary in those agencies was \$17,000 per year.⁷ However, the male median was \$21,000, as opposed to \$12,000 for females.⁸ Mexican American median income was \$14,000, \$16,000 for males and \$11,000 for females.⁹ Black median income was \$13,000, \$16,000 for males and \$11,000 for females.¹⁰ Anglo median income was \$18,000, \$22,000 for males and \$12,000 for females.¹¹ (See figure 2.1.) The large disparities in median income occurred in all but one of these Federal agencies. The exception was the Post Office where median incomes for Anglos, Mexican Americans, and blacks, as well as for men and women in each ethnic and racial group, were exactly the same.¹² Women were 15.4 percent of the Post Office work force.

¹ U.S. Civil Service Commission, Bureau of Personnel Management Information System, Status of Federal Civilian Employees by Pay Plan and Grade, Minority Group, and Sex (total employment). Data compiled in U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, staff report, *Southwestern Regional Office, Ten Years Later The Status of Minorities and Women in Public Employment in Texas* (hereafter referred to as *Ten Years Later Public Employment Report*), table 1, app. B.

² *Ibid.*, table 5, app. B.

³ U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, *General Population Characteristics, Texas* (hereafter cited as *Census of Texas*), table 35; *Ten Years Later Public Employment Report*, table 1.2.

⁴ 1977 Civil Service Commission report, in *Ten Years Later Public Employment Report*, table 5, app. B.

⁵ *Ibid.*, computed from table 4, app. B.

⁶ *Ibid.*, table 1, app. B.

Pay Plans

Three basic pay plans are used in Federal civilian employment.¹³ In general, these plans are divided into various grades that determine the wages paid.

The *General Schedule* system (frequently referred to as "the GS schedule") covers typical white-collar jobs, including professional, administrative, and scientific positions, as well as clerical and other support staff. Almost 6 out of every 10 (58.2 percent) Federal civilian workers in Texas were employed under this pay plan.¹⁴

The *Wage System* covers typical blue-collar positions, including supervisory positions. Approximately 2 out of every 10 (21.8 percent) Federal civilian workers in Texas were in this plan.¹⁵

The *Postal Service* pay group includes jobs in the administration, supervision, and operation of the mail service and other related functions. About 2 out of every 10 (19.7 percent) Federal civilian workers in Texas worked under this plan.¹⁶

A few other pay plans cover certain specialized functions; less than 1 percent (0.3 percent) of the Federal employees in Texas were under these plans in 1977.¹⁷

The vast majority of Anglos in Federal employment were under the General Schedule pay system. Over 65 percent of Anglos (56.1 percent of the men and 88.6 percent of the women) were in "GS" jobs. Only 37.8 percent of the blacks (26.7 percent of the men and 57.8 percent of the women) were in GS jobs; 43.4 percent of the Mexican Americans held GS jobs (32.6 percent of the men and 87.2 percent of the women).¹⁸

Wage System employees were mostly men (93.6 percent).¹⁹ Mexican American men were disproportionately concentrated in these blue-collar positions. Stated another way, while the Wage System em-

⁷ *Ibid.*, table 2, app. B.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ The grade schedules for the three major pay plans are found in tables 7-14, which were derived from the 1977 U.S. Civil Service Commission report.

¹⁴ 1977 Civil Service Commission report in *Ten Years Later Public Employment Report*, table 6, app. B.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

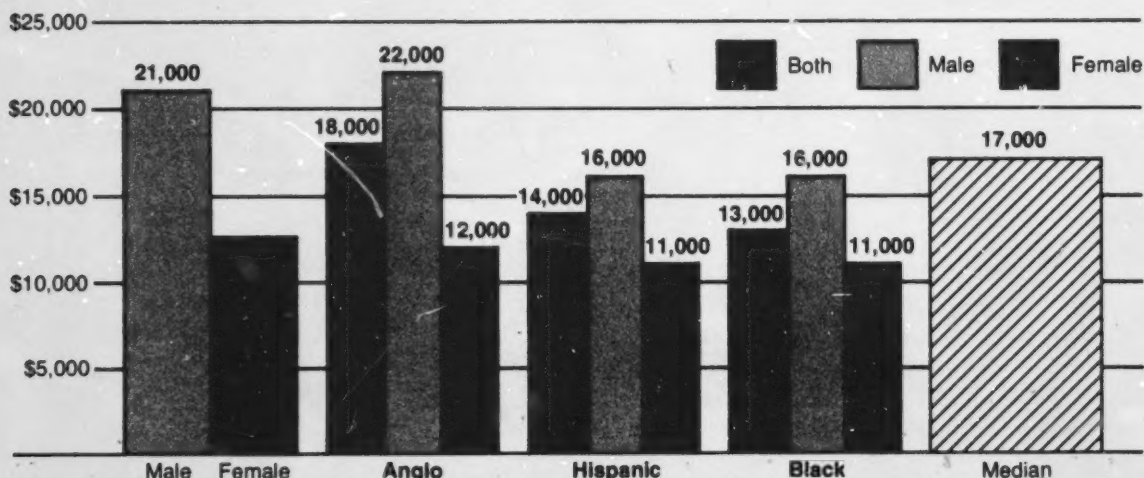
¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, table 5, app. B.

Figure 2.1

Median Agency Salary for Federal Agencies in Texas with 25 or more Employees by Race, Ethnicity, and Sex, 1977



Analysis: The median salaries for males is almost twice that for women. Minority group members are paid less than Anglos. Minority females have the lowest median salaries.

Source: Data derived from Civil Service Commission, Bureau of Personnel Management Information System (BPMIS) Employment Report, Statewide, Texas as of Nov. 30, 1977 (computer printout); in U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Southwest Regional Office, The Status of Minorities and Women in Public Employment in Texas (at print).

employees were only 21.8 percent of Federal employment in Texas,³⁰ over one-half of the Mexican American male work force (51.2 percent) were Wage System employees.³¹ In comparison, only 20.1 percent of the Anglo men and 32.3 percent of the black men working for the Federal Government in Texas were Wage System employees.³²

The Postal Service, on the other hand, contained the largest number of black males.³³ While this schedule covered only 19.7 percent of all Federal employees in Texas,³⁴ over 40 percent (40.9 percent) of the black male work force was paid under it.³⁵ In comparison, only 23.4 percent of Anglo male and 16.1 percent of Mexican American male Federal employees in Texas were in the Postal Service.³⁶

An examination of the concentrations within each of the pay schedules with the exception of the Postal

Service demonstrates that Anglo males were consistently paid at higher levels than other employees. In the GS schedule, for example, 56.2 percent of Anglo males were at or above the GS-11 level, as compared with 22 percent of the black males, 22.2 percent of the Mexican American males, 7.9 percent of the Anglo females, 6.7 percent of the black females, and 3.1 percent of the Mexican American females.³⁷ Translated into salary this means \$18,258 to \$23,739 per year based on the salary range for 1977.³⁸ On the other hand, only 13.4 percent of the Anglo males were at or below GS-5, as compared with 50 percent of the black males, 36.4 percent of the Mexican American males, 69.6 percent of the Anglo females, 70 percent of the black females, and 74.3 percent of the Mexican American females.³⁹

³⁰ Ibid., table 6, app. B.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid., table 4, app. B.

³⁴ Ibid., table 6, app. B.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

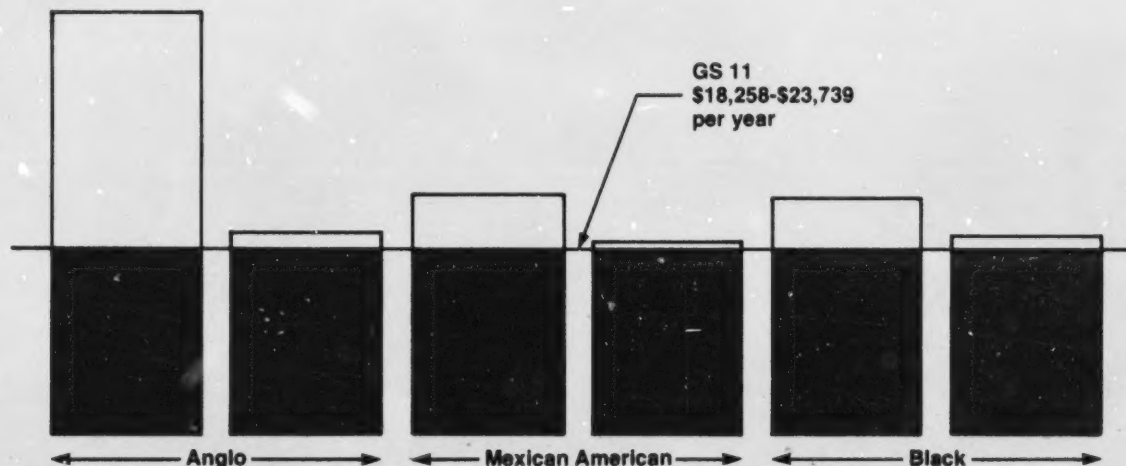
³⁷ Ibid., table 4.3.

³⁸ Ibid., table 7, app. B.

³⁹ Ibid., table 4.3.

Figure 2.2

Grade and Salary Distribution for Federal Agencies in Texas by Race, Ethnicity, and Sex, 1977



Fully 56.2% of all Anglo males but only 22% of all black males and 22.6% of all Mexican American males were above the GS-11 level (\$18,258-\$23,739). For females the pattern was more dismal, only 7.9% of Anglo females, 6.7% of black females and 3.1% of Mexican American females above the GS-11 level.

Source: U.S. Civil Service Commission, Bureau of Personnel Management Information System, Status of Federal Civilian Employees by Pay Plan and Grade: Minority Group and Sex (Total Employment) Computer Printout 9-6-78; in U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Southwestern Regional Office, Ten Years Later: The Status of Minorities and Women in Public Employment in Texas for 1977 (at print).

Again, translating this into salary, it is \$9,959 to \$12,947 per year.³⁰ (See figure 2.2.)

Wage System employees had an almost equally skewed pattern. In the Wage Leader (WL) section of the Wage System schedule, 15 percent of all Anglo male employment was at or above grade WL-11, while only 1 percent of the black and 7.8 percent of the Mexican American males were in these higher paid positions. No females of any racial or ethnic group were at or above WL-11. On the other end of the scale, only 5.4 percent of Anglo males were below grade WL-4, as compared with 32.1 percent of black males, 32.7 percent of Mexican American males, 12.5 percent of Anglo females, 60 percent of black females, and all Hispanic females.³¹ The other components of the Wage System pay schedule demonstrated almost identical patterns.

Within the higher grades in the Postal System, grades PS-20 through PS-30, there were 436 employees.³² At this level, 382 (87.6 percent) of the employees were Anglo males. Among the 44 minority persons at or above PS-20 were 1 black female, no Mexican American females, 28 Mexican American males, 14 black males,³³ and 10 Anglo females.³⁴

Virtually all of the major Federal agencies in Texas show extreme levels of underrepresentation and underutilization of minority and female employees. This pattern is most pronounced for minority females, who are virtually absent from the higher grade levels and have median incomes that are about one-half that of Anglo males.

State Government Employment

States, counties, and cities were first covered by the Federal law that prohibits discrimination based

³⁰ Ibid., table 7, app. B.

³¹ Ibid., table 4.5.

³² Ibid., table 14, app. B.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

on race, color, national origin, sex, or religion in 1972.³⁶ This law (sometimes referred to as Title VII) was, therefore, in effect for almost 5 years when the State compiled its 1977 annual inventory of employment, upon which this study is based.

According to the 1970 census, Texas had a population that was 68 percent Anglo, 18 percent Mexican American, and 12 percent black. In 1977 the State employed 86,573 persons, of whom 50.9 percent were male.³⁸ In terms of racial and ethnic breakdown, Anglos made up 74.3 percent of the State employees (40 percent male and 34.4 percent female), Mexican Americans 13.5 percent (6.7 percent male and 6.8 percent female), and blacks 11.6 percent (3.9 percent male and 7.7 percent female).³⁷ Assuming that the racial and ethnic makeup of the population of Texas had not changed since 1970, these figures mean that Anglos were overrepresented and Mexican Americans were underrepresented. Black males were also clearly underrepresented, being only one-third of the blacks working for the State.

In terms of occupations, 38.1 percent of the female employees were concentrated in the office-clerical area, as opposed to only 3 percent of the males.³⁸ A similar pattern appeared in the salary area: almost 45 percent of the women but only 15.1 percent of the men earned less than \$8,000 a year. At the other end of the salary scale, 22.8 percent of the men but only 4.2 percent of the women made over \$16,000 per year.³⁹

More than 23 percent of the black men worked in the service and maintenance area, as opposed to 4.6 percent of the Anglo men. In excess of 26 percent of all Mexican American men, on the other hand, had jobs in the professional area, compared to almost 33 percent of the Anglo men and only 13.9 percent of the black men.⁴⁰

In terms of salary, 60.9 percent of the blacks and 38.9 percent of the Mexican Americans earned less than \$8,000 a year; only 22.7 percent of Anglos were paid at that rate. At the other end of the salary scale, 16.8 percent of the Anglos but only 5.2 percent of the Mexican Americans and 2.5 percent of the blacks earned more than \$16,000. Minority women fared

the worst. Over two-thirds of the black and almost 56 percent of the Mexican American women earned less than \$8,000 per year while only 37.3 percent of Anglo women were at that level.⁴¹

Analysis of Selected Agencies

The State of Texas reported a total of 129 agencies in 1977.⁴² Sixty-five of these agencies together employed more than 99 percent of the work force. In 1977 only 1 these 65 agencies, the Court of Criminal Appeals (36 employees), had no Mexican American employees.⁴³ Three of the agencies had no blacks: the Consumer Credit Commission (31 employees), the Commission for Indian Affairs (35 employees), and the Saving and Loan Department (32 employees).⁴⁴

Women were overconcentrated in four agencies: the Department of Mental Health/Mental Retardation, the Department of Public Welfare, the Health Department, and the Texas Employment Commission. The employees in these four agencies represented 54.2 percent of the total State work force. However, 86.4 percent of black, 81.1 percent of Mexican American, and 71.1 percent of Anglo female State employees were clustered here. In comparison, less than one-third of Anglo men worked at these four agencies.⁴⁵

Patterns of employment within a given function were studied to find out if Anglo men monopolized the better paying and more influential positions (i.e., administrative and professional). Anglo men consistently were at the highest levels, followed by Anglo women, Mexican American men, black men, and finally, minority women.

In summary, the State of Texas salary levels are probably the best index to how well minorities and women are doing. The overall median salary for State workers during 1977 was between \$10,000 and \$12,999 per year. However, almost half of all black males and 67 percent of all black females earned less than \$8,000 per year. About 22 percent of all Mexican American males and 56 percent of all Mexican American females made less than \$8,000 annually. In contrast, only 10.4 percent of Anglo

³⁶ 42 U.S.C. Sec. 2000d *et seq.*

³⁷ *Census of Texas*, table 2.

³⁸ State of Texas, Office of the Governor, Office of Personnel and Equal Employment Opportunity, "Report of EEO-4 Data for 1977 for Texas State Government," computer printout, Jan. 13, 1978, in *Ten Years Later Public Employment Report*, table 2, app. C.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, table 5.4.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, table 9, app. C.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, table 5.4.

⁴² *Ibid.*, table 9, app. C.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, table 1, app. C.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, table 3, app. C.

males and 37 percent of Anglo females were paid less than \$8,000 per year.⁴⁶

On the opposite end of the scale, the highest paid employees were those making in excess of \$25,000 per year. More than 9 out of every 10 State employees at this salary level were Anglos and, with few exceptions, they were all males. This same proportion of 9 out of 10 employees being Anglo was also found at the \$16,000-\$24,999 and the \$13,000-\$15,999 levels.⁴⁷

The pattern that emerged in Texas State employment for the reporting year of 1977 is very precise: **Anglos are overrepresented in State government and Anglo men dominate the higher paid positions, while minorities and women are overly concentrated in the low-skilled and lower paying positions.**

County Employment in Texas

Texas has 254 counties ranging in population from 164 (Loving County in west Texas) to 1,741,912 (Harris County in east Texas).⁴⁸ A significant number of Texas counties have few, if any, incorporated cities, so the county is the prime public deliverer of services. In many of the more rural areas, the county government is the largest employer. But in every county revenue sharing and other Federal and State monies have increased the importance and significance of this level of government.

The 1977 EEOC survey of county employment included 128 of the State's 254 counties.⁴⁹ According to the 1970 census, these counties contained 84.1 percent of the State's population.⁵⁰ They also were 92.1 percent of Texas' Mexican Americans, as well as 81.2 percent of the State's blacks.⁵¹ Overall, the sample contained 32,524⁵² employees, who were almost equally divided between males (50.6 percent) and females (49.4 percent). Anglos made up 69.7 percent (35.0 percent male and 34.7 percent female), blacks 10.9 percent (4.6 percent male and 6.3 percent female), and Hispanics 18.6 percent (10.7 percent male and 7.9 percent female).⁵³ The overall county employment, then, was the rough equivalent of the Texas population according to the 1970 census (68

percent Anglo, 12 percent black, and 18 percent Hispanic).

These data appear to show that minority-group members and women have equality of opportunity in county government employment. However, the data mask the fact that women and minorities were disproportionately found in the jobs with lower salaries and minimum authority. For example, more than half of all female county employees were in clerical positions⁵⁴ (88.9 percent of such employed),⁵⁵ while fewer than 6.3 percent of male county employees were in the clerical classification.⁵⁶ In addition, females held over 70 percent of the paraprofessional positions.⁵⁷ Males were concentrated in the administrative (63.5 percent), protective service (88.1 percent), skilled craft (94.4 percent), and service and maintenance (76.6 percent) jobs.⁵⁸

The median salary for all county employees in the EEOC sample fell between \$8,000 and \$10,000. Anglo men had median salaries in the \$10,000-\$13,000 range. Black men had a median salary of \$8,000-\$10,000, while Hispanic men were in the \$6,000-\$8,000 range. Median salaries for all women fell in the \$6,000 to \$8,000 area. Stated another way, 55 percent of women in the county employment sample earned less than \$8,000 per year, while only 31.5 percent of their male coworkers were paid at that rate. On the other end of the scale, 9.2 percent of the men, as opposed to 3.9 percent of the women, earned over \$16,000 a year.⁵⁹

This pattern of unequal employment opportunity is consistent across the regions of Texas. The pattern shows women overwhelmingly assigned to secretarial employment, Anglo men to administrative and professional positions, and minorities to service and maintenance jobs.

South Texas Region

The south Texas region had a population of 2,024,453, of whom 52.4 percent were Mexican American and 4.7 percent black. Counties in the EEOC sample employed 6,494 persons; slightly over half (54.4 percent) were male. Almost 60 percent (59.6 percent) of the women were in clerical posi-

⁴⁶ Ibid., table 9, app. C.

⁴⁷ Ibid., table 8, app. C.

⁴⁸ Census of Texas, table 9.

⁴⁹ U.S., Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEO Statistical File for Texas for 1977, computer printout, August 1979 (hereafter cited as EEO-4 file for Texas).

⁵⁰ Census of Texas, table 9, in *Ten Years Later Public Employment Report*, table 6.1.

⁵¹ Computations derived from comparison between tables 6.1 and 1.1.

⁵² EEO file for Texas, in *Ten Years Later Public Employment Report*, table 13, app. D.

⁵³ Ibid., *Ten Years Later Public Employment Report*, table 29, app. D.

⁵⁴ Ibid., table 30, app. D.

⁵⁵ Ibid., table 29, app. D.

⁵⁶ Ibid., table 30, app. D.

⁵⁷ Ibid., table 29, app. D.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid., table 33, app. D.

tions, and they made up 85.5 percent of the clerical employees. Women also were 62.5 percent of the paraprofessionals. Men, on the other hand, accounted for almost 70 percent of the administrative, over 60 percent of the professional, and more than 90 percent of the protective services jobs.⁶⁰

Anglos made up 36.9 percent of the south Texas county work force in the EEOC sample, while Mexican Americans were 57.6 percent and blacks 4.7 percent. Notably, Anglos accounted for 56.2 percent of the administrative (Mexican Americans 43.2 percent and blacks 0.3 percent) and 64.2 percent of the professional positions (Mexican Americans 28.8 percent and blacks 2.4 percent). On the other hand, Hispanics held over 76 percent of the service and maintenance jobs (Anglos 17.4 percent and blacks 6.5 percent).⁶¹

West Texas Region

The west Texas region had a total population of 1,071,239. Of these, 31.4 percent were Mexican American and 3.8 percent were black. Counties in the EEOC sample employed 4,278 persons, of whom 42.2 percent were male and 57.8 percent female. Less than half (40 percent) of the female work force was in the clerical area; however, females were in excess of 94 percent of all clerical employees. In a slight break from the pattern, women also held almost 70 percent of the professional jobs. Males accounted for just under 60 percent of the administrative, 83.3 percent of the protective services, and 98.7 percent of the skilled craft positions.⁶²

Anglos were 66.1 percent of the total employment, Mexican Americans 26.5 percent, and blacks 5.9 percent. Significantly, Anglos accounted for over 78 percent of the administrators (Mexican Americans 20.5 percent and blacks 0.6 percent). Anglos were also 82.9 percent of the professionals (Mexican Americans 9.9 percent and blacks 1.5 percent). On the other hand, minorities made up over 54 percent (41.9 percent Mexican American and 12.4 percent black) of the employees in the service and maintenance area. Almost 44.6 percent of all blacks working for counties in the west Texas sample were in service and maintenance jobs.⁶³

⁶⁰ EEO file for Texas in *Ten Years Later Public Employment Report*, table 39, app. D.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid., table 36, app. D.

East Texas Region

The east Texas region had a total population of 3,681,256. Of these 7.7 percent were Mexican American and 20.7 percent were black. Men and women employed by counties in the EEOC sample were almost evenly divided (50.9 percent and 49.1 percent, respectively). Slightly less than half (44.9 percent) of the female work force was in the clerical area, as opposed to 5.1 percent of the male work force. Significantly, however, 89.4 percent of the clerical employees were women, as were 78.2 percent of the paraprofessional employees. On the other hand, 60 percent of the administrators, 89.2 percent of the protective services employees, and 89.3 percent of the skilled craft workers were men.⁶⁴

Anglos accounted for 92.5 percent of the administrative (blacks 4.0 percent and Mexican Americans 2.9 percent), 80.3 percent of the professional (blacks 13.3 percent and Mexican Americans 4.3 percent), and 85.3 percent of the protective services (blacks 9.5 percent and Mexican Americans 5.0 percent) jobs. On the other hand, minorities made up 42.3 percent of the employment in the service maintenance area. Almost half (49.9 percent) of the black males employed by these east Texas counties were in service and maintenance positions.⁶⁵

Panhandle-High Plains Region

The Panhandle-High Plains region had a total population of 671,733 including 14.1 percent Mexican American and 5.0 percent black. County employment in the EEOC survey was almost equally divided between men and women (50.2 percent and 49.8 percent, respectively). Slightly over half (53.6 percent) of female employees were in the clerical area (as opposed to 1.7 percent of the male work force), and females were 96.8 percent of all clerical employees. Males, on the other hand, made up 61.5 percent of the administrative, 81.0 percent of the protective services, and 94.9 percent of the skilled craft employment.⁶⁶

Anglos were 96.7 percent of the administrators (Mexican Americans 1.6 percent and blacks 0.8 percent), 92.2 percent of the professionals (Mexican Americans 2.6 percent and blacks 1.3 percent), 91.6 percent of the technicians (Mexican Americans 4.2 percent and blacks 4.2 percent), 88.1 percent of the

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid., table 37, app. D.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid., table 34, app. D.

skilled craft workers (Mexican Americans 11.1 percent and blacks 0.8 percent), and 91.7 percent of the protective services staff (Mexican Americans 2.7 and blacks 4.5 percent). In the service and maintenance area, minorities held 25.9 percent (Mexican Americans 12.5 percent and blacks 13.4 percent) of the jobs.⁶⁷

North Texas Region

The north Texas region had a population of 2,867,519 which included 5.7 percent Mexican Americans and 12.9 percent blacks. The EEOC county sample here again showed jobs almost equally divided among men and women (50.1 percent and 49.9 percent, respectively). Nearly 60 percent of the female work force (58.6 percent) was in the clerical area, as opposed to 9 percent of the male work force. Women were disproportionately represented in clerical (86.6 percent) and paraprofessional (69.3 percent) jobs, while men dominated the administrative (69.6 percent), technical (61.3 percent), protective services (86.2 percent), and skilled craft (99.0 percent) positions.⁶⁸

Mexican Americans had 2.7 percent of all county jobs and blacks 12.1 percent. Anglos, who held 84.9 percent of the county jobs, accounted for 95.1 percent of the administrative (blacks 3.6 percent and Mexican Americans 1.3 percent), 83.2 percent of the professional (blacks 13.7 percent and Mexican Americans 2.7 percent), and 89.6 percent of the protective services (blacks 7.1 percent and Mexican Americans 3.1 percent) positions.⁶⁹

Central Texas Region

The central Texas region had a population of 880,530, which included 12.1 percent Mexican Americans and 11.0 percent blacks. The counties in the EEOC sample included 1,917 employees, 57.5 percent of whom were men. Over two-thirds (68.9 percent) of the female work force was concentrated in the clerical area (as opposed to 6.5 percent of the male work force). Males, on the other hand, made up 75.3 percent of the administrative, 67.6 percent of the professional, 92.6 percent of the protective service, and 98.0 percent of the skilled craft positions.⁷⁰

Anglos accounted for 81.5 percent of the county work force, while Hispanics and blacks made up 7.4

percent and 10.8 percent, respectively. Anglos, however, held 95.9 percent of the administrative (2.7 percent blacks and no Hispanics), 91.4 percent of the technical, and 84.8 percent of the protective services positions. Minorities comprised over 27 percent of the service and maintenance jobs.⁷¹

Municipal Employment in Texas

Three of the 10 largest cities in the United States are located in Texas (Houston, Dallas, and San Antonio). Yet, the State also includes some of the smallest and most isolated communities in the country.

Cities have become increasingly more important in Texas. Their rapid growth in the past two decades, coupled with congressional and legislative reapportionment, has multiplied their political significance. At the same time, direct grants of Federal and State funds through revenue sharing and the like have augmented their budgets. As a result, the services provided by cities to their residents continue to expand, leading to major growth in municipal employment.

The 1977 EEOC survey covered 168 cities in Texas, which had over 64 percent of the total State population but almost 72 percent of the Mexican American and black residents. (The survey included all cities over 25,000 in population in 1970 and samples of the smaller cities.)

The cities in the survey employed 90,699 persons.⁷² More than 80 percent were male. Of the total, 62 percent were Anglo (49.9 percent male and 12.4 percent female), 22.8 percent Mexican American (18.8 percent male and 3.9 percent female, and 14.5 percent black (11.4 percent male and 3.1 percent female).⁷³

Although women were only 19.5 percent of the municipal workers, they made up 85.9 percent of the clerical workers, only 11.9 percent of the administrators, 3.0 percent of the protective services employees (police), 1.8 percent of the skilled craft workers, 4.9 percent of service and maintenance workers, and 26.8 percent of the professionals.⁷⁴ In terms of salary, 71.6 percent of the females earned less than \$10,000, compared to only 43.6 percent of the males. Of those earning more than \$16,000 annually, 95.6 percent were male.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid., table 35, app. D.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid., table 38, app. D.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid., table 1, app. E.

⁷³ Ibid., table 4, app. E.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

Mexican Americans were 22.7 percent of the municipal work force (18.8 percent male and 3.9 percent female), while blacks made up 14.5 percent (11.4 percent male and 3.1 percent female). However, together they accounted for almost 70 percent of the service and maintenance workers (31.1 percent black and 38.6 percent Mexican American). In other areas, they fared poorly: blacks were only 3.8 percent and Mexican Americans 9.6 percent of the administrators. Similarly, in the professional jobs, blacks held only 5.4 percent and Mexican Americans 12.2 percent. In terms of salary, over two-thirds of the black and 71.9 percent of the Mexican American but only 37.5 percent of the Anglo employees had incomes below \$10,000 per year. Anglos made up over 90 percent of those earning over \$16,000 a year, compared to only 6 percent of Mexican Americans and 3.3 percent of blacks. Minority women appeared to be in the worst position, as over 80 percent of black and Mexican American females were paid less than \$10,000 annually.

South Texas Region

The south Texas region had a total population of 2,024,453 persons. Of these 52.4 percent were Mexican Americans and 4.7 percent were black. There were 15,778 employees in the cities sampled in the EEOC survey.¹⁸ Of these, 78.9 percent were male. Anglos comprised 20.4 percent (22.2 percent male and 7.2 percent female), Mexican Americans 65.6 percent (52.9 percent male and 12.6 percent female), and blacks 4.9 percent (3.7 percent male and 1.2 percent female).

Although women made up 21.1 percent of the employees, they held 84.3 percent of the clerical positions, 18.8 percent of the administrative, 1.6 percent of the protective services; 3.5 percent of the skilled craft, and 4.3 percent of the service and maintenance jobs. Women, however, were 28.5 percent of the professionals.

In terms of salary, 84.4 percent of the women but only 59.9 percent of the men working for south Texas cities made less than \$10,000 per year. Of the 922 employees who earned over \$16,000 a year, only 6.3 percent were women.

Mexican Americans were overrepresented among city service and maintenance workers: 88.6 percent of them were Mexican American, compared to the 65.6 percent Mexican American share of the city

work force. Blacks—4.8 percent of municipal workers—were 6.3 percent of the service and maintenance employees; Anglos held only 5.1 percent of those jobs. Stated another way, over half of the Mexican American males but only 6.7 percent of the Anglo males were in janitorial jobs.

Mexican Americans were 43.6 percent of the officials and administrators, while Anglos made up 55.2 percent and blacks only 0.9 percent. Mexican Americans accounted for 37.3 percent of the professionals, as opposed to 58.3 percent for Anglos and 4.0 percent for blacks.

In terms of those earning less than \$10,000 a year, 77.7 percent were Mexican Americans, 5.3 percent were blacks, and 16.9 percent were Anglos. In other words, over 77 percent of Mexican American, 71 percent of black but only 37.3 percent of Anglo city workers earned less than \$10,000 per year. The bulk of those paid more than \$16,000 annually were Anglo: 68.2 percent, as opposed to 29.9 percent Mexican American and 1.4 percent black. Again, minority women fared the worst. Over 92 percent of the Mexican American and almost 88 percent of the black female employees earned less than \$10,000 per year.

West Texas Region

According to the 1970 census, the west Texas region had a population of 1,071,239 persons. Of these, 31.4 percent were Mexican American and 3.8 percent were black. There were 9,502 persons employed by the cities in the 1977 EEOC survey of municipal employment.¹⁹ Of these, more than 84 percent were male and just less than 16 percent were female. Mexican Americans made up 48.6 percent (42.8 percent male and 5.8 percent female) of the city employees while Anglos were 47.9 percent (38.5 percent male and 9.4 percent female) and blacks 3.1 percent (2.5 percent male and 0.6 percent female).

Women accounted for 15.9 percent of the municipal work force but made up over 86 percent of the office and clerical workers. On the other hand, women were only 9.2 percent of the officials and administrators, 8.6 percent of the technicians, 2.1 percent of the protective service employees, and 0.4 percent of the skilled craft workers. Significantly, however, women accounted for 21 percent of the professionals.

¹⁸ Ibid., table 30, app. E.

¹⁹ Ibid., table 27, app. E.

Almost 79 percent of the women earned less than \$10,000 annually, compared to 54 percent of the men. Men made up over 96 percent of those earning over \$16,000 per year. Service and maintenance employees were mostly Mexican American (76.3 percent) and black (4.5 percent): 81 percent of all service and maintenance employees compared to the 51.7 percent Mexican American and black share of the city work force. These minorities were less than 15 percent of the officials and administrators (14 percent Mexican American and 1 percent black), 19.9 percent of the professionals (18.5 percent Mexican American and 1.4 percent black), and 37.9 percent (35.5 percent Mexican American and 2.4 percent black) of the protective services employees.

More than two-thirds (68.5 percent) of the Mexican American and about three-quarters (76.3 percent) of the black city employees earned less than \$10,000 annually, while somewhat less than half (47 percent) of the Anglos were at this level. Of employees earning over \$16,000 per year, over 75 percent were Anglo, 23 percent Mexican American, and less than 1 percent black. Again, minority women fared the worst; almost 84 percent of the Mexican American and 96.3 percent of black women made less than \$10,000 per year. No minority woman earned more than \$16,000 per year.

East Texas Region

The east Texas region had a total population of 3,681,256 persons. Of these, 20.7 percent were black and 7.7 percent Mexican American. There were 24,145 persons working for cities in the 1977 EEOC survey of municipal employment.⁷⁷ Blacks made up 25.3 percent (20.9 percent male and 4.4 percent women) and Mexican Americans 8.9 percent (7.5 percent male and 1.4 percent female). Women held 89.1 percent of city clerical positions, but only 18.6 percent of all city jobs. Women were 14.6 percent of the officials and administrators, 3.5 percent of the protective services employees, and 1.6 percent of the skilled craft workers. Significantly, 25.6 percent of the professionals were female.

More than two-thirds (67.3 percent) of the women earned less than \$10,000 per year. Less than one-third (32.4 percent) of the male employees were in that pay grouping. Only 152 (3.4 percent) of the 4,477 employees making over \$16,000 annually were women.

⁷⁷ Ibid., table 28, app. E.

Although only 34.1 percent of municipal workers in east Texas were blacks and Mexican Americans, together they accounted for over 75 percent (59 percent black and 16.3 percent Mexican American) of the service and maintenance employees. Minorities were only 10.3 percent (6.8 percent black and 3.6 percent Mexican American) of the administrators, 14 percent (9.6 percent black and 4.4 percent Mexican American) of the professionals, and 11.9 percent (7 percent black and 4.9 percent Mexican American) of the protective services workers.

In terms of salary, 57.7 percent of the black and 54.3 percent of the Mexican American municipal employees were paid less than \$10,000 per year, while only 29.6 percent of the Anglo workers were at that level. Anglos were more than 91 percent of the employees making over \$16,000 per year, but blacks and Mexican Americans made up only 5.0 percent and 3.2 percent, respectively. Once again minority females fell mainly on the bottom rung of the pay ladder. Over 83 percent of the black and 75.8 percent of the Mexican American women were paid less than \$10,000 per year. Only 20 black and 8 Mexican American women were among the 4,477 persons paid over \$16,000 a year.

Panhandle-High Plains Region

The Panhandle-High Plains region of Texas had a total population of 671,733 persons, including 14.1 percent Mexican Americans and 5.0 percent blacks. There was a total of 3,417 persons employed in the 1977 EEOC survey of municipal employment in the Panhandle-High Plains region.⁷⁸ Mexican Americans made up 12.8 percent (11.4 percent male and 1.4 percent female) of the employees and blacks accounted for 6.2 percent (5.0 percent male and 1.2 percent female).

Although they held most clerical jobs—93.5 percent—women held only 18.9 percent of all city jobs. They also were only 13 percent of the officials and administrators, 12.7 percent of the professionals, 4.4 percent of the protective services employees, and 2.2 percent of the skilled craft workers.

The majority of the women—86.1 percent—earned less than \$10,000 per year, compared to about half of the men. Among the 570 persons earning more than \$16,000 annually were no black or Mexican American women and only 37 (6.5 percent) Anglo women.

⁷⁸ Ibid., table 25, app. E.

More than 51 percent of the Mexican American and 48 percent of the black but only 14.2 percent of the Anglo employees were in service and maintenance jobs. (Mexican Americans made up 12.8 percent and blacks 6.2 percent of the municipal work force.) On the other hand, minorities held only 5 percent (3.4 percent Mexican American and 1.6 percent black) of the administrative, 1.9 percent (1.9 percent Mexican American and no black) of the professional, and 5.3 percent (3.5 percent Mexican American and 1.8 percent black) of the protective services positions.

In terms of salary, 84.5 percent of the Mexican Americans and over 85 percent of the blacks but only 43 percent of the Anglos earned less than \$10,000 per year. Only 12 (2.1 percent) Mexican Americans (all men) and no blacks were among the 570 persons making more than \$16,000 per year.

North Texas Region

The north Texas region had a combined population of 2,867,519, of whom 12.9 percent were black and 5.7 percent Mexican American. There was a total of 27,931 persons employed in cities which were included in the 1977 EEOC survey of municipal employment.⁷⁹ Of these, 14.6 percent were black (11.1 percent male and 3.5 percent female) and 5.7 percent Mexican American (5.0 percent male and 0.7 percent female).

Women made up 18.6 percent of the municipal work force and, here again, held most of the clerical positions—over 83 percent. Women accounted for only 8.9 percent of the officials and administrators, 15 percent of the technicians, 3.3 percent of the protective services employees, and only 1.9 percent of the skilled craft workers.

In terms of salary, almost two-thirds (66.3 percent) of the female employees of municipalities were paid less than \$10,000 per year, compared to about two-fifths (39.8 percent) of their male coworkers. Women made up only 5.5 percent of the 2,960 employees who earned over \$16,000 annually.

In this region, like others, minorities were overrepresented among the service and maintenance workers. Over 55.8 percent of the black and 50.4 percent of the Mexican American males held such jobs, although blacks and Mexican Americans were 14.6 percent and 5.8 percent, respectively, of all city workers. Minorities were only 4.9 percent (3.3

percent black and 1.6 percent Mexican American) of the officials and administrators, 7.2 percent (4.7 percent black and 2.5 percent Mexican American) professionals, and 8.0 percent (5.0 percent black and 3.0 percent Mexican American) of those in protective services.

In terms of salary, 73.5 percent of the black and 67.6 percent of the Mexican American employees were paid less than \$10,000 annually; 57.7 percent of the Anglo workers were at that level. Of better paid workers, blacks made up only 1.9 percent and Mexican Americans 1.4 percent of those earning above \$16,000 per year. Again, minority females fared the worst. Over 74 percent of the black and 76 percent of the Mexican American females earned below \$10,000 a year. No Mexican American females made more than \$16,000 per year and black females made up less than 1 percent (0.7 percent) of the employees at that level.

Central Texas Region

The central Texas region had a population of 880,530 persons. This included 12.2 percent Mexican American and 11.0 percent black. There was a total of 9,926 employees in the 1977 EEOC survey of municipal employment in the central Texas region.⁸⁰ Of these, 14.3 percent (10.4 percent male and 3.9 percent female) were Mexican American and 17.7 percent (12.7 percent male and 5.0 percent female) black.

The municipal work force was only 25.7 percent female, yet 85.8 percent of the office and clerical employees were female. Only 10.2 percent of the officials and administrators, 19.7 percent of the technicians, and 3.4 percent of the protective services employees were women. Significantly, however, women accounted for 38.2 percent of the professionals.

Almost two-thirds (65.8 percent) of the women made less than \$10,000 per year, compared to slightly less than half of the men. Women made up only 10.2 percent of the 781 employees who earned over \$16,000 a year.

Just under half (48.9 percent) of the black and 41.5 percent of the Mexican American employees were in city service and maintenance jobs, an overrepresentation compared to their 17.7 and 14.3 percent respective shares of all city positions. Only 11.9 percent of the Anglos were service and maintenance

⁷⁹ Ibid., table 26, app. E.

⁸⁰ Ibid., table 29, app. E.

workers. On the other hand, blacks and Mexican Americans made up only 10.4 percent (4.1 percent black and 6.3 percent Mexican American) of the officials and administrators, 11 percent (5.2 percent black and 5.8 percent Mexican American) of the professionals, and 13.3 percent (5.3 percent black and 8.0 percent Mexican American) of the protective services employees.

Over three-fourths (76.5 percent) of the black and slightly less than three-fourths (72.5 percent) of the Mexican American municipal employees earned less than \$10,000 per year. Blacks accounted for only 3.5 percent and Mexican Americans for 2.8 percent of

the 781 persons paid over \$16,000 per year. Minority women again fared the worst. More than 81 percent of the black and 80.8 percent of the Mexican American females earned less than \$10,000 per year. Of those paid over \$16,000 per year, black females were only 1.2 percent and Mexican American women 0.5 percent.

However municipal employment is analyzed, a clear pattern emerges: minorities and women are in the lower paying jobs while Anglos dominate the more lucrative positions. Women and minorities are still performing what are perceived as "traditional" jobs for each group.

3. Education

Perhaps nothing more intimately concerns each of us than our system of public education. Texas, in spite of its international fame for opulence and tremendous wealth, has a very different reputation in the area of education. The State is ranked 22d of the 50 States in the amount of money that it spends on education.¹ How well Texas is doing in education is indicated by the 1970 census, which showed that the median school years completed by persons 25 years old and older was almost 12 years for Anglos, only 7 years for Mexican Americans, and 10 years for blacks.²

The State legislature is responsible for the enactment of laws to govern the educational system, which must deal with the almost 3 million students enrolled in Texas public schools. The legislature has delegated some of its authority to a board whose exclusive function is to oversee the school system and to formulate policies based on the legislation passed by the Texas House of Representatives and Senate.³

The Texas State Board of Education is influential because of its wide scope of powers and duties. Next to the lawmakers, this board makes the major decisions affecting education in Texas. Its membership is charged with the day-to-day operation of the public school system. One of the board's most significant powers is, with the consent of the Texas Senate, to appoint the person who will serve as the Texas Commissioner of Education. The commission-

er is the executive director of the agency designated to operate and regulate the system of public schools,⁴ implementing the board's recommendations and making recommendations on policy.

The State board of education has 24 members elected from each congressional district in the State for staggered 6-year terms. As of October 1, 1978, this board was composed of 18 males and 5 females (one position was vacant at that time). The board had only minimal representation of minorities: one black and two Mexican American members. (See figure 3.1.) Yet the minority students were 40 percent of the enrollment in Texas public schools at that time.⁵ The board has never appointed a minority or a woman as commissioner of education.

The Texas Education Agency (TEA) is responsible for all aspects of implementing the policies set forth by the legislature and the State board of education. A powerful agency, TEA controls accreditation standards, teacher certification, and budget allocations. TEA also interprets statutes, establishes policies, monitors school districts, does periodic academic and financial audits, and provides technical assistance.⁶

Because of the significance of this agency, it is important to examine its employment profile. (See figure 3.2.) Of the top 57 administrative positions in TEA, 50 are held by men. Three Hispanic men, one

¹ National Center for Education Statistics, "Statistics of Public Elementary and Secondary Day Schools" (Washington, D.C.: Fall 1976), p. 191.

² U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census of Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics*, table 51.

³ V.A.T.S. Education Code, Art. 11.26 (Supp. 1971).

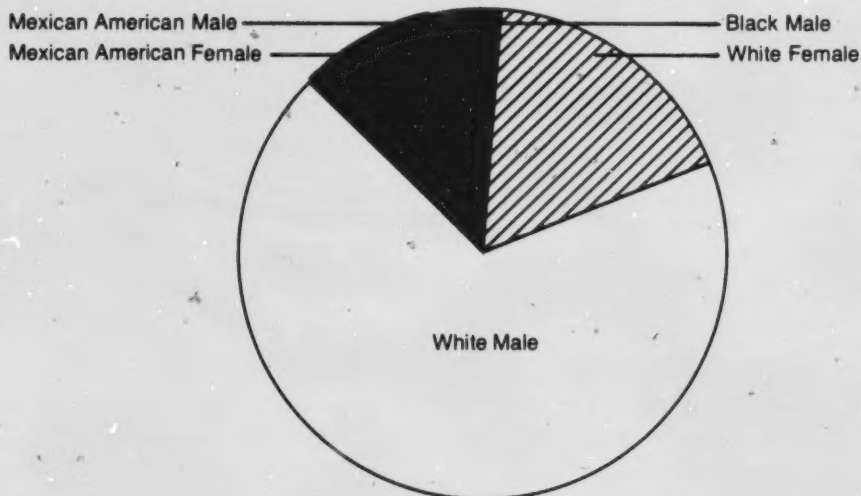
⁴ V.A.T.S. Education Code, Art. 11.25 (Supp. 1971).

⁵ Texas Education Agency, *1978-79 School Directory*. At the time of publication, there was one vacancy on the State school board.

⁶ V.A.T.S. Education Code, Art. 11.02.

Figure 3.1

State Board of Education by Race, Ethnicity, and Sex, 1977-78

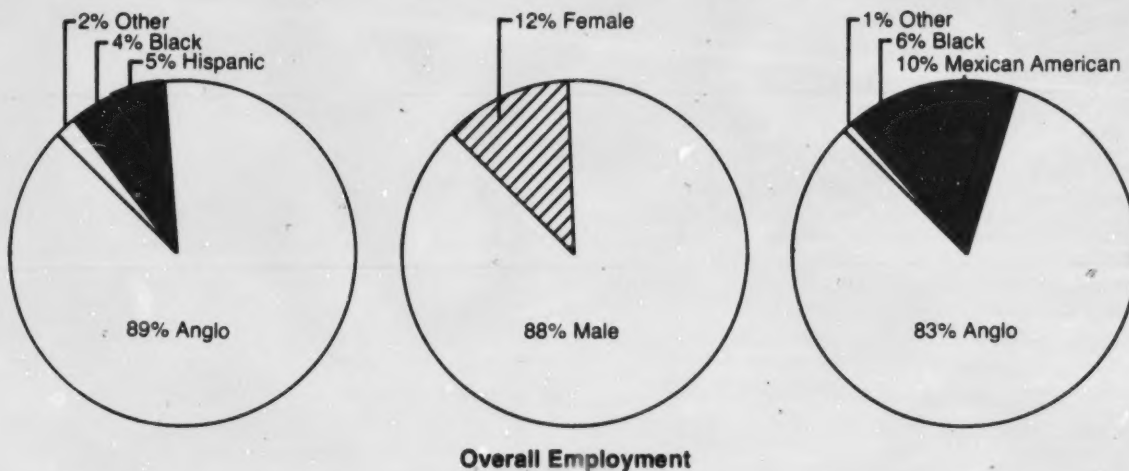


Analysis: In 1977-78 the State board of education was made up of 18 males and 5 females. There was one black and two Mexican Americans on the board.

Source: T.E.A., Texas School Directory, 1977-78.

Figure 3.2

Texas Education Agency Employment, 57 Decisionmaking Positions, 1977-78

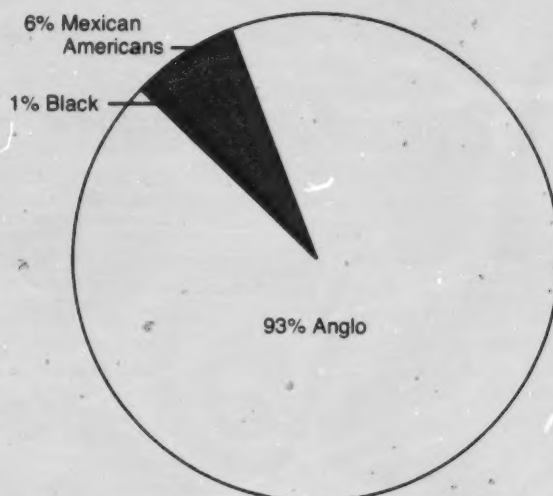


Overall Employment

Analysis: The overwhelming majority of the top 57 positions within T.E.A. are held by Anglos and males. In terms of overall employment within the agency, Anglos also hold four out of five jobs.

Source: T.E.A. Texas School Directory, T.E.A. Personnel Department Office of the Governor. EEO Data.

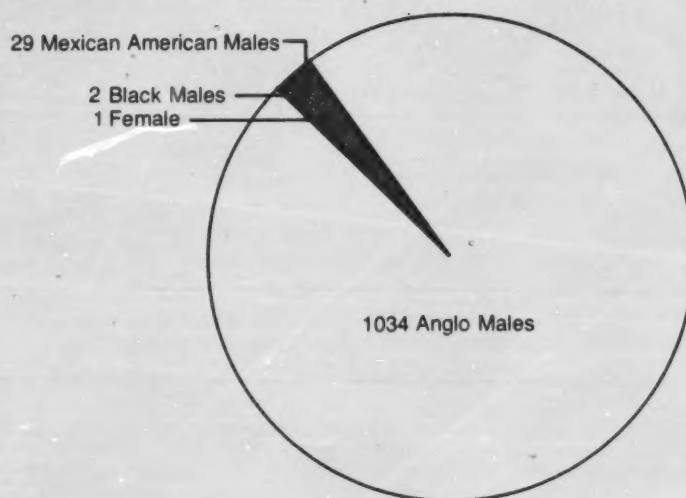
Figure 3.3
Local School Board Members by Race and Ethnicity, 1978-79



Analysis: Approximately 93% of all School board members in this State are Anglo, 6% are Mexican American, and approximately 1% are black.

Source: Texas Education Agency 1978-79 School Directory.

Figure 3.4
Texas Superintendents by Race, Ethnicity, and Sex, 1978-79



Analysis: In 1978-79 there were 29 Mexican American male superintendents, only 2 blacks, and 1 female superintendent. Approximately, 1034 Anglo males were employed in this capacity.

Source: Texas Education Agency 1978-79 School Directory.

black woman, one black man, and one Asian American woman were in this group.⁷ In terms of the balance of the work force, however, women outnumber men. Of the total employment of 935, only 57 were blacks and 98 Hispanics, a meager 16 percent minority employment rate at TEA.⁸

The median salary for 1977 at TEA was between \$13,000 and \$15,999. However, 51 percent of all black and 55 percent of all Mexican American employees earned less than \$10,000 per year. In contrast, only one-third of Anglo employees were at that level. Of the 44 employees earning \$25,000 or more, 41 (93.2 percent) were Anglo, 2 (4.5 percent) were Hispanic, and 1 (2.3 percent) was black.⁹

Of the 81 minority women employed, only 6 black and 8 Mexican American women earned more than \$12,999. Two-thirds of the black women and over 84 percent of the Mexican American women held traditional secretarial positions.¹⁰

After the State bureaucracy, the local school board trustees exercise the most authority in public education. For all practical purposes, the members of the local school boards set the policies governing the operation of the school districts. They must approve the budget, personnel, programming, and local disposition of grievances. The usual number of board members is seven and the term of office can vary but is generally 3 or 6 years.

According to the 1978-79 *School Directory*, Texas had 7,256 school board members. Of these, 92.6 percent were Anglo (more than three out of four were male). Mexican Americans accounted for approximately 6 percent of the membership, virtually all of whom were male.¹¹ Blacks made up approximately 1 percent of the officials; again, almost all were male. (See figure 3.3.)

A definite relationship appeared to exist between the student population of a district and the existence of minority members on its governing board. Mexican Americans were the majority of the board in 51 Texas school districts and blacks had the majority in two districts (Wilmer-Hutchins and Kendleton). In each of the districts where blacks or Mexican Americans made up a majority of the board of

trustees, the student enrollment exceeded 50 percent minority. Of course, other districts with a majority-black or Mexican enrollment did not have a minority-dominated board. No districts, however, with a predominantly Anglo student population had a minority-dominated board.¹²

Local school boards hire the school superintendent, who is the chief executive officer for the district. Of 1,066 superintendents, only 29 were Mexican Americans, 2 were blacks, and 1 was female (Bluff Dale, average-daily attendance of 23 in 1978).¹³ Significantly, the two black superintendents were in the only two districts whose boards were predominantly black. (See figure 3.4.)

The seven largest school districts in Texas have a combined minority enrollment of approximately 63 percent (32 percent black, 31 percent Mexican American).¹⁴ In these districts 62 percent of all principals were Anglo (45 percent male, 17 percent female). Mexican Americans accounted for 14 percent (9 percent male, 5 percent female) and blacks almost 24 percent (15 percent male, 9 percent female) of all principals. This pattern of Anglo dominance also extended to elementary and secondary teaching positions.¹⁵

Traditionally, teaching at the elementary school level has been seen as a female occupation, and the statistics reinforce this view. In 1977 women were 92 percent of all elementary teachers in the seven largest districts. Of all female teachers employed by these districts, over half were Anglo (58 percent); 28 percent were black and only 13.4 percent were Mexican American. At the high school level, women held over 59 percent of all teaching positions (38 percent Anglo, 16 percent black, and only 5 percent Mexican American). Men were 40 percent of high school teachers in the seven districts; 26 percent were Anglo, 9 percent black, and only 5 percent Mexican American.¹⁶

Minorities and women are conspicuously absent from the policymaking and top administrative positions in the Texas system of public education. Mexican Americans are especially underrepresented in employment in the seven largest school

⁷ Texas Education Agency, *Texas School Directory, 1978-79* (October 1978), pp. VI-XII. Also, TEA administrative profiles provided by the Personnel Department, Texas Education Agency, Mar. 29, 1979.

⁸ State of Texas, Office of the Governor, Office of Equal Employment Opportunity, computer printout of EEO-4 data for 1977 by agency (Jan. 13, 1978).

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Texas Education Agency, *1978-79 School Directory*.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid. Black and female superintendents were identified by Gilbert Conoley of TEA in October 1979.

¹⁴ U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office for Civil Rights, *Directory of Elementary and Secondary School Districts and Schools in Selected School Districts: School Year 1976-77*, vol. 11, pp. 1683-1823.

¹⁵ Texas Education Agency, EEO-5 files for Texas school districts for 1977-78 (unpublished).

¹⁶ Ibid.

districts, particularly when compared with enrollment of Mexican American students.

4. Administration of Justice

The one State operation that is most frequently encountered by residents of Texas is probably the administration of justice. Because the administration of justice is not limited to criminal matters but includes such civil matters as enforcement of contracts and divorce, at one time or another most people's lives are touched by the administration of justice.

Discretion

The administration of justice involves people at many different levels who make decisions that order and change the way other people live, work, and interact. Most of these decisions are not automatic; instead, discretion is used in making them. For example, a traffic officer will decide whether to ticket a driver for speeding. If the infraction is minor, maybe no citation will be issued, or maybe the officer will give a warning ticket. If a ticket is issued, the officer has the discretion to allow the driver to sign the ticket as a promise to appear at a later time or to arrest and jail the driver to await a hearing.

In criminal cases, other people also play key decisionmaking roles. A person accused of a crime will be prosecuted by a city or county attorney, a district attorney, or in the case of a violation of Federal law, a U.S. attorney. Using discretion, the prosecutor usually determines whether to press a case forward or not. If the prosecutor decides to go forward with a case, it will frequently be taken before a grand jury, which must decide whether there is probable cause to believe that a crime has been committed. In Texas all serious crimes, or

felonies, must be taken to a grand jury before a person can be prosecuted.

At a trial, a judge makes a large number of discretionary decisions, ranging from the evidence admitted to the kind or length of sentence imposed. In a divorce case, for an example of a civil trial, the judge will probably determine how much, if any, child support shall be paid, who gets custody of the children, and how to divide the property owned by the husband and wife.

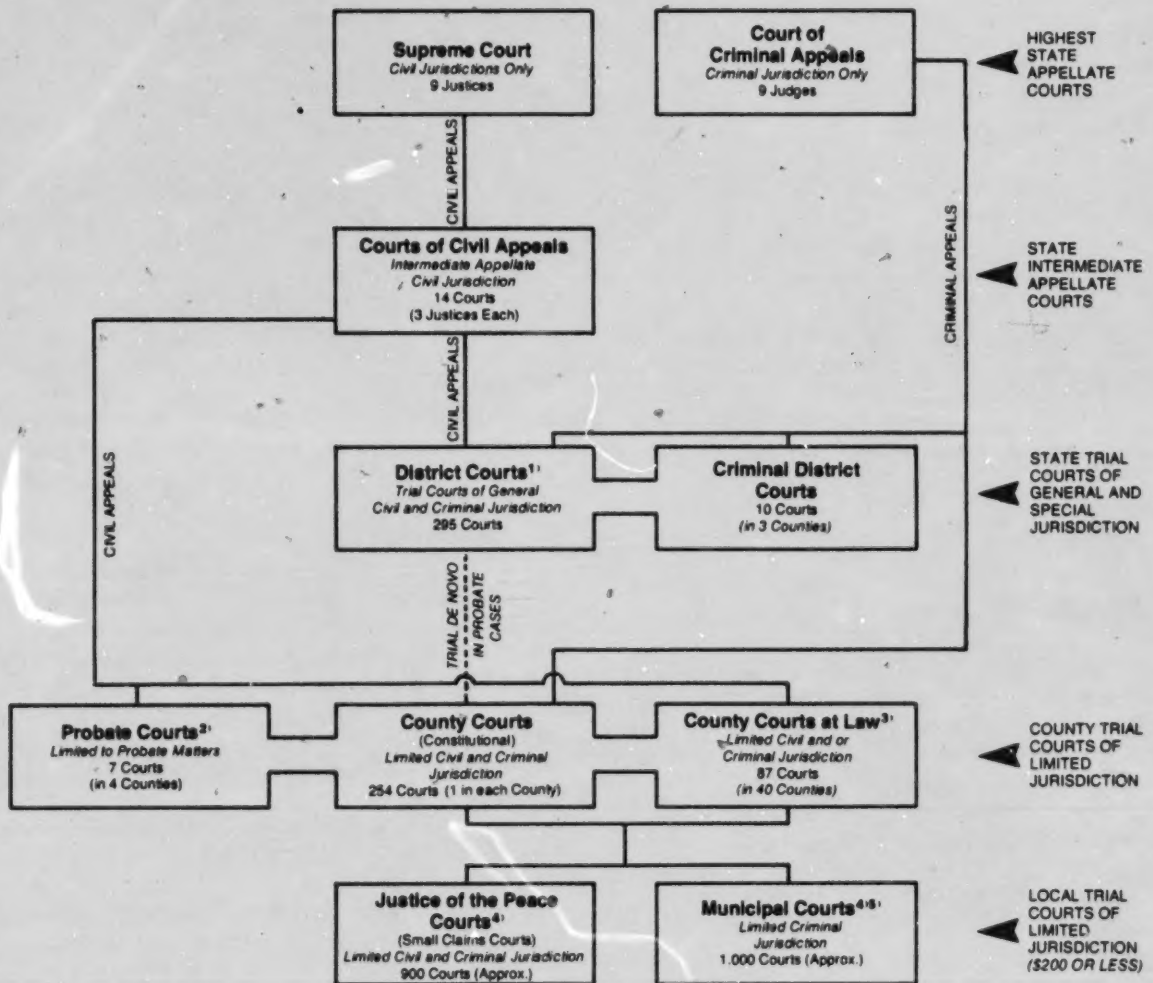
The purpose of highlighting the role of discretion in the administration of justice is to stress the importance of who the people are who exercise that discretion. If very few of these people are members of minority groups, or if minorities hold jobs of only minimal responsibility, then questions arise as to the overall fairness of the system.

The administration of justice is also important in another sense. County sheriffs, district attorneys, county attorneys, local chiefs of police, and especially judges hold positions of power and respect. They are frequently the leading citizens in a community.

For this study, highly visible and important positions in the administration of justice were selected as indicators of the status of minorities in this field. Where possible, the most recent information was compared with 1968 data to show what changes had occurred in the last 10 years:

The administration of justice in Texas was overwhelmingly dominated by Anglo males in 1968, and that overall pattern has changed very little.

Figure 4.1
Texas Judicial System



¹ 38 District Courts are required by Statute to give preference to criminal cases, 44 to Civil cases.

² Established in 4 Counties to relieve Constitutional County Courts Appeals on the record to Court of Civil Appeals.

³ Established in 40 Counties to relieve Constitutional County Courts (generally, jurisdiction from \$200 to

\$1,000, \$5,000 or \$10,000). Specific Jurisdiction of Individual Courts established by Statute: 59 County Courts at Law; 11 County Criminal Courts; 9 County Criminal Courts at Law; 4 County Civil Courts at Law; 1 County Criminal Court of Appeals; 2 "County Courts"; 1 "Probate and County Court".

⁴ Civil Appeals (over \$20) and all Criminal Appeals from Justice of the Peace and Municipal Courts are

Trial De Novo. Appeals from some Justice of the Peace and Municipal Courts are to the District Court in lieu of the County Court.

⁵ Four Municipal Courts (Houston, Midland, Sweetwater, Wichita Falls) are Courts of Record and Appeals therefrom are on the record in lieu of Trial De Novo.

State Level

Court System

The judicial system in Texas includes four general levels or classifications, each with different duties and responsibilities. (See figure 4.1.) At the first level are the municipal and justice of the peace courts, with jurisdiction in fairly minor criminal cases; justices of the peace also handle civil cases. At the next level are the county courts, including county judges, probate courts, and county courts at law. Again, these courts have limited criminal jurisdiction. The third level is the district courts, which include courts of domestic relations, criminal district courts, juvenile courts, and district courts of general jurisdiction. As their names suggest, some district courts are specialized while others have a general jurisdiction. Basically, the more urban the area, the more likely that the specialized courts will exist. The final level of the Texas court system is the court of criminal appeals and, for civil cases, the courts of civil appeals and the supreme court. Texas has 14 courts of civil appeals, and each takes care of appeals out of a specific geographic area. The Texas Supreme Court is the final civil appellate court in Texas.¹

Municipal Judges

In 1977, 749 persons served as municipal judges. Of these, 82 (10.9 percent) were female. Thirty-nine (5.2 percent) were Spanish-surnamed males and 5 (0.7 percent) were Spanish-surnamed females. (No dependable methodology was available to identify male and female blacks.)²

In 1978, 1,020 persons were municipal judges. Of these, 113 (11.1 percent) were female; 37 (3.6 percent) were Hispanic males, and 10 (1.0 percent) were Hispanic females.³

Justices of the Peace

The justice of the peace courts in Texas have original criminal jurisdiction in cases where the fine does not exceed \$200 and civil jurisdiction in a limited number of cases where the amount in

question does not exceed \$200.⁴ In addition to their strictly judicial functions, some justices of the peace also perform marriages, hold inquests, issue peace bonds, act as magistrates, hold examining trials, conduct drivers license suspension hearings, and issue search warrants.⁵ During 1977, 67 percent of the almost 1.3 million cases disposed of by justices of the peace involved traffic matters.⁶

According to the Texas Judicial Council, 981 persons served as justices of the peace during 1977. Most (84.8 percent) were male. Hispanics accounted for 9.3 percent (8.3 percent male and 1 percent female) and black males for 0.5 percent. No black females were justices of the peace.⁷ (See figure 4.2.)

In 1978, 1,213 persons served as justices of the peace. Males held 85.4 percent of these positions. Hispanics made up 9.6 percent (8.7 percent male and 0.9 percent female) and black males 0.3 percent of the justices of the peace. Overall, 90 percent of the justices of the peace were Anglo.⁸ No black women held the position, and significantly, the number of black males serving as justices of the peace in Texas declined from five in 1977 to four in 1978.

County Courts

Each county in Texas has an elected county judge, voted on county-wide, whose role is both administrative and judicial. On the administrative side, the judge presides at meetings of the county commission. The judicial jurisdiction of the county judge includes probate, juvenile, and minor civil cases as well as misdemeanor (minor) criminal matters.⁹ The county judge is not required to be a lawyer although many are.

During 1977, 405,273 new cases were filed with or appealed to county courts; approximately two-thirds were criminal cases. Almost one-third of these criminal cases were for driving while intoxicated, another 13 percent for worthless checks, and 9 percent for violations of the law concerning marijuana possession or delivery.¹⁰

While all counties have county judges, not all county judges play significant judicial roles. It is impossible to generalize accurately, but it is usually

¹ For a detailed description of the function of the various Texas courts, see generally, 1977 Texas Judicial Council and Office of Court Administrator, *Forty Ninth Annual Report* (Austin: May 1978) (hereafter cited as *Judicial Council Annual Report—1977*), pp. 37ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 189–201.

³ 1978 Texas Judicial Council and Office of Court Administrator, *Fiftieth Annual Report* (Austin: May 1979) (hereafter cited as *Judicial Council Annual Report—1978*).

⁴ Tex. Const. Art. 5, sec. 19.

⁵ *Judicial Council Annual Report—1977*, pp. 168–69.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 189–201. See also Joint Center for Political Studies, *National Roster of Black Elected Officials*, vol. 7 (Washington, D.C.: 1977) (hereafter cited as *Roster of Black Elected Officials—1977*), p. 210.

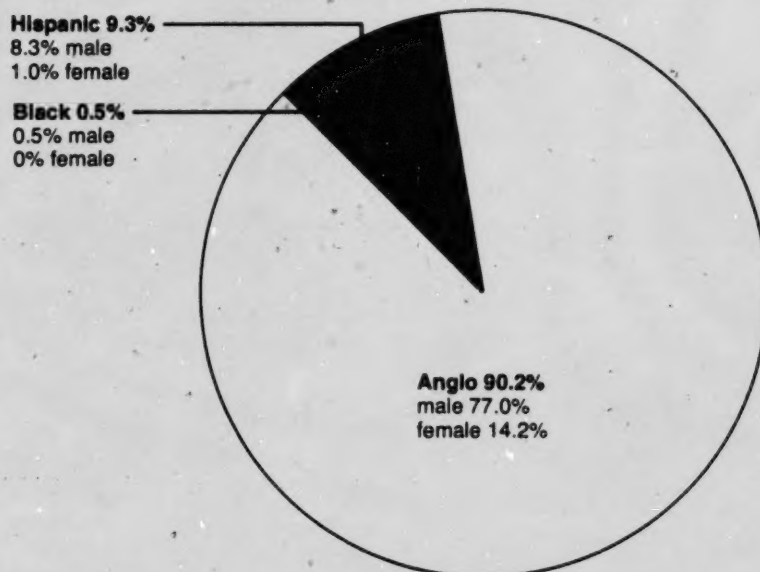
⁸ *Judicial Council Annual Report—1978*, pp. 648–67. See also *Roster of Black Elected Officials—1978*, pp. 213–16.

⁹ *Judicial Council Annual Report—1977*, pp. 49–53.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 153–54.

Figure 4.2

Justices of Peace Courts by Race, Ethnicity, and Sex, 1977



Analysis: In 1978, 90 percent of the justices of the peace were Anglo; 9.3 percent Mexican American and only 0.3 percent black.

Source: Texas Judicial Council and Office of Court Administration 1978 Annual Report (Austin, Tex.: May 1979), pp. 648-67.

true that the larger the county, the less likely it is that the county judge will have a major judicial role. This is especially true if the county judge is not a lawyer. In the more urban counties, special county courts have been created. The judges on these courts—referred to here as judges of county courts—are elected, required to be lawyers, and generally perform one or more of the functions of the county judge.

County Judges

Texas has 254 county judges. In 1968 Anglo men accounted for 247 (97.6 percent) of the 253 positions (1 was vacant), while Anglo women held another 3 (1.2 percent) judgeships. Three (1.2 percent) Mexican American men were county judges, but none were Hispanic women or blacks.¹¹ In 1977, 240 (94.5

percent) of the county judges were Anglo men and 5 (2.0 percent) were Anglo women. Nine (3.5 percent) Hispanic males were county judges. Again, no Mexican American women or blacks of either sex held judgeships.¹² (See figure 4.3.)

Judges of County Courts

In 1977 Texas had 88 judges of county courts;¹³ 82 (93.2 percent) were male. Anglo males accounted for 73 (83.0 percent), Anglo females for 6 (6.8 percent), and Hispanic males for 9 (10.2 percent) of these judgeships. No blacks or Hispanic females were judges of county courts.

In 1978, 105 persons served as judges of county court. Of these, 83.8 percent were Anglo males, 11.4

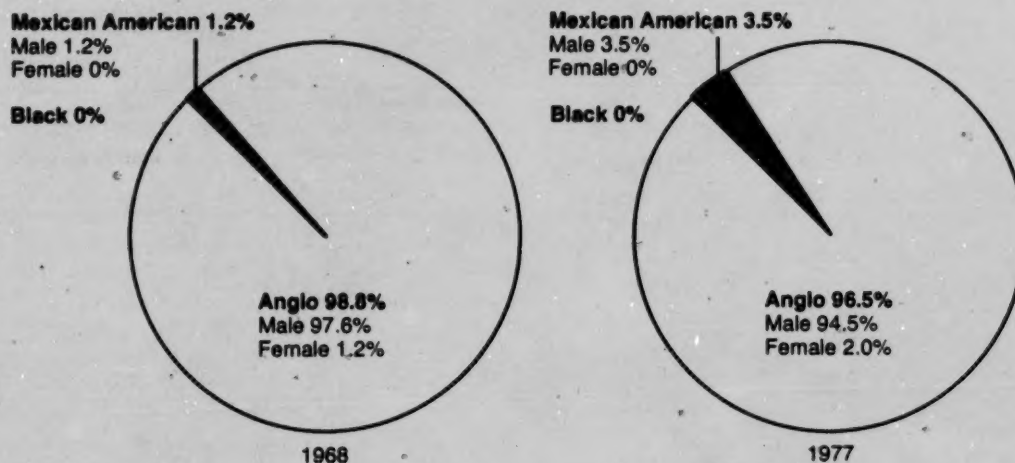
¹¹ Dallas Morning News, *Texas Almanac 1967-1968* (Dallas: A.H. Belo Corp., 1967), pp. 534-40.

¹² Dallas Morning News, *Texas Almanac 1978-1979* (Dallas: A.H. Belo Corp., 1978), pp. 594-99.

¹³ Judicial Council Annual Report—1977, pp. 189-201. The figure of 88 includes 5 judges of probate (all were Anglo males). See also *Roster of Black Elected Officials—1977*, p. 210.

Figure 4.3

County Judges by Race, Ethnicity, and Sex, 1968 and 1977

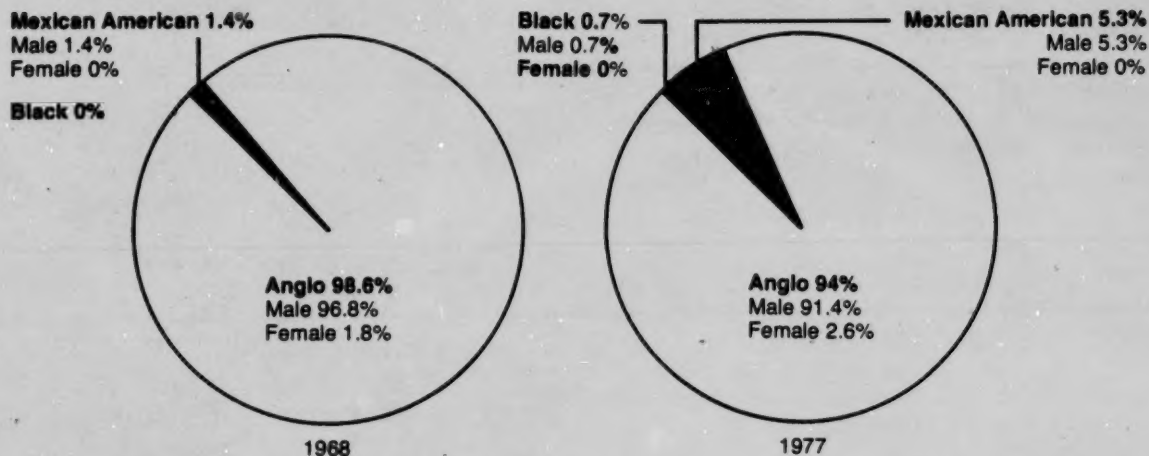


County judges are important figures with both administrative and judicial duties. During the ten year study period Anglo dominance of this position declined by only 2.3 percentage points. There were no Mexican American female or black county judges.

Source: Texas Judicial Council Annual Reports for 1968 and 1977.

Figure 4.4

District Judges by Race, Ethnicity, and Sex, 1968 and 1977



During the ten year study period. Anglo domination of district judge positions declined by only 4.2 percentage points.

Source: Texas Judicial Council Annual Reports for 1968 and 1977.

percent were Hispanic males and 4.8 percent were Anglo females. No blacks or Hispanic females¹⁴ served as judges of county courts in 1978.

District Courts

Some district courts deal solely with domestic relations (divorces, etc.), criminal cases, or juvenile matters.¹⁵ Most, however, are courts of general jurisdiction handling both criminal and civil matters.

In 1977, 356,042 new cases were filed in Texas district courts; more than three-fourths of them were civil cases. Forty-five percent of the civil cases were for divorce or annulment. Nine percent of the civil docket was personal injury matters; tax matters, another 7 percent. Criminal cases took approximately 20 percent of the time of the district courts. Burglary and theft accounted for 42 percent of the criminal docket, drug offenses 13 percent, and felony drunken driving 6 percent.¹⁶

In 1968 Texas had 221 district judges. Four (1.8 percent) were women and three (1.4 percent) Spanish-surnamed men. The rest (96.8 percent) were Anglo men.¹⁷ No blacks or Mexican American women were district judges.

By 1977 the number of district judges had increased to 303. Eight (2.6 percent) were women, 16 (5.3 percent) Hispanic men, and 2 (0.7 percent) black men (see figure 4.4).¹⁸ No district judges were Hispanic or black women.

Of the 310 district judges in 1978, 9 (2.9 percent) were women, 15 (4.8 percent) Hispanics, and 3 (1.0 percent) blacks. The first black female district judge took office in December 1978.

A second black female district judge was appointed in 1978, but she did not take office until January 1, 1979. Significantly, all black district judges are in Dallas and Harris (Houston) Counties.¹⁹ The research done for this study indicates that no Mexican American woman has ever been a district judge in Texas.

¹⁴ *Judicial Council Annual Report—1978*, pp. 648–67. The figure of 105 includes 9 judges of probate (all were Anglo males).

¹⁵ *Judicial Council Annual Report—1977*, pp. 43–47, 137–39.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

¹⁷ 1968 Texas Judicial Council, *Fortieth Annual Report* (Austin: 1968), pp. 238–43 (hereafter cited as *Judicial Council Annual Report—1968*).

¹⁸ *Judicial Council Annual Report—1977*, pp. 183–88; and *Roster of Black Elected Officials—1977*, p. 211. Compare with *Judicial Council Annual Report—1977*, p. 187, n.2.

¹⁹ *Judicial Council Annual Report—1978*, pp. 642–57; and *Roster of Black Elected Officials—1978*, p. 215. Compare with *Judicial Council Annual Report—1978*, p. 643, n. 8.

Appellate Courts

The 14 courts of civil appeals have intermediate appellate jurisdiction in most civil cases. In 1968, as in 1977, each court had 3 members, for a total of 42 justices. In 1968 all of these justices were men and, with the exception of one Mexican American (2.4 percent), all were Anglo.²⁰

In 1977, 41 (97.6 percent) of the justices were men, 1 (2.4 percent) was an Anglo woman, and 1 (2.4 percent) was a Mexican American man.²¹ Significantly, the same Mexican American was on the court in both 1968 and 1977.

In 1978 the number of justices at the courts of civil appeals in Dallas and Houston was increased, to bring the total statewide number to 51. Of these 51 justices, 49 (96.1 percent) were Anglo (48 men and 1 woman) and 2 (3.9 percent) were Mexican American men. There continued to be no Hispanic woman or blacks on the courts of civil appeals.²² (See figure 4.5.)

Supreme Courts

Texas has two supreme courts, one for civil (Texas State Supreme Court) and one for criminal cases (Texas Court of Criminal Appeals). In both 1968 and 1977, the court of criminal appeals had five judges, all Anglo males.²³ On January 1, 1978, this court was expanded to nine members, all of whom continued to be Anglo males.²⁴ The State supreme court had nine justices in 1968, all Anglo males.²⁵ In 1977 and 1978 this had not changed.²⁶

Employees of the Court of Criminal Appeals

In 1977 the court of criminal appeals had a staff of 36. All were Anglo except for two blacks (a male in service and maintenance and a female clerical worker). Of the 17 women employed by the court of criminal appeals, 15 (88.2 percent) were in clerical jobs.

In terms of salary, 88.3 percent of the female but only 5.3 percent of the male employees earned less than \$12,999 per year. Both blacks were also at or

²⁰ *Judicial Council Annual Report—1968*, p. 213.

²¹ *Judicial Council Annual Report—1977*, p. 135.

²² *Judicial Council Annual Report—1978*, p. 136.

²³ *Judicial Council Annual Report—1968*, p. 212. *Judicial Council Annual Report—1977*, p. 130.

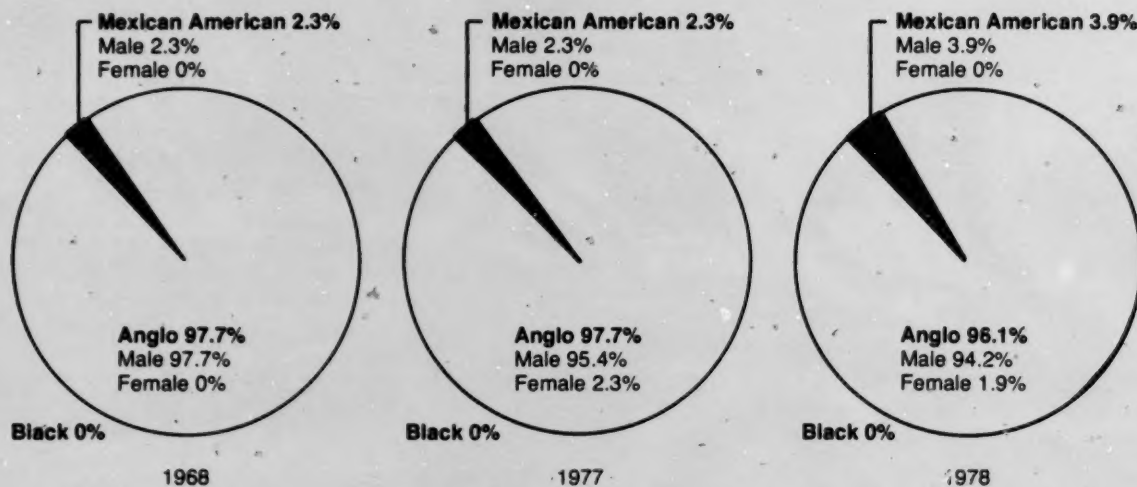
²⁴ *Judicial Council Annual Report—1978*, p. 131.

²⁵ *Judicial Council Annual Report—1968*, p. 212.

²⁶ *Judicial Council Annual Report—1977*, p. 126. *Judicial Council Annual Report—1978*, p. 126.

Figure 4.5

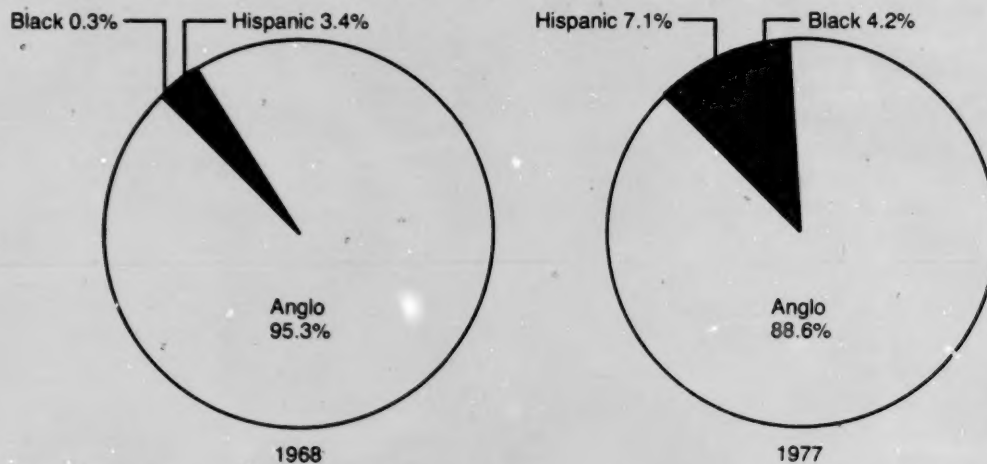
Texas Court of Civil Appeals by Race, Ethnicity, and Sex, 1968, 1977, and 1978



Source: Texas Judicial Council Annual Report for 1968, 1977, and 1978.

Figure 4.6

Department of Public Safety by Race, Ethnicity, and Sex, 1968 and 1977



Analysis: The Department of Public Safety has increased from slightly over 3 percent minority in 1968 to in excess of 11 percent in 1977.

Source: Colonel J. Wilson Speer, testimony in the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Hearing, San Antonio, Texas, 1968, pp. 715-34. Also, Office of the Governor of Texas, computer printout based on Form EEO-4 for 1977, (Jan. 1, 1978).

below this level. The 4 employees earning above \$25,000 and 9 of the 10 above \$16,000 were male.²⁷

Employees of the Texas Supreme Court

In 1977 the Texas Supreme Court had a staff of 34. Four (11.8 percent) were blacks (3 men, 1 woman), and 1 (2.9 percent) was a Mexican American woman. Of the 19 women employees, 14 (73.7 percent) were clerical, 4 were administrators, and 1 was a professional. Of the three black men, two were in service and maintenance and one was in clerical work (the only man in that category). The Mexican American woman was also in clerical work.

All of the blacks earned less than \$10,000. Significantly, there were six employees at this level, four of them black. The Mexican American female earned between \$10,000 and \$12,999 per year. All persons earning over \$13,000 annually were Anglo.²⁸

Law Enforcement

Department of Public Safety

The enforcement function of the administration of justice in Texas is highly fragmented among literally hundreds of autonomous State and local agencies. The largest is the Texas Department of Public Safety (DPS). This statewide police force is charged primarily with enforcement of traffic laws on the State's highways, recordkeeping, and laboratory work. It is in the rural areas where the DPS appears to have its most significant role in law enforcement.

According to the testimony of Col. Wilson J. Speir, head of DPS, at the 1968 Civil Rights Commission hearing, DPS had 3,443 employees. Of these, 1,640 were directly involved in law enforcement, while 1,803 others were in support jobs. Forty (2.4 percent) of the enforcement employees were Mexican Americans and 10 (0.6 percent) were black. Of the 1,803 support staff, 76 (4.2 percent) were Mexican American and 2 (0.1 percent) were black. Overall, in 1968 Mexican Americans accounted for only 3.4 percent and blacks for approximately 0.3 percent of DPS employment.²⁹

In 1977 the DPS had 2,083 persons in enforcement positions and another 2,276 in backup roles. Of those

in enforcement, 142 (6.8 percent) were Mexican American and 54 (2.6 percent) were black. Overall, of the 4,359 persons working for the DPS in 1977, 308 (7.1 percent) were Mexican American and 184 (4.2 percent) were black.³⁰ Figure 4.6 compares DPS employment in 1968 and 1977.

Data on female employment are not available for 1968. However, it is significant that even in 1977 women were severely underutilized in all categories except clerical—86 percent of female employment. Just over 0.5 percent of the persons directly involved in law enforcement were female (11 of 2,083). Significantly, 87.7 percent of the women working for the DPS made less than \$10,000 per year, compared to only 9.3 percent of the Anglo work force. Minority females fared the worst with only six Mexican American and two black women paid over \$10,000 per year.³¹

The Texas Rangers are part of the Department of Public Safety. In 1968 all of the 62 Texas Rangers were Anglo men.³² In 1978, 4 (4.4 percent) of 91 Texas Rangers were Spanish surnamed. No blacks or women were Rangers.³³

State Attorney General's Office

The attorney general gives legal advice to State agencies and officials and usually represents the State in civil litigation. The attorney general has a small staff compared to other agencies, but the job is often a steppingstone for higher political office.

In 1977, 312 persons were employed in the attorney general's office.³⁴ Fifty-three percent were men. Significantly, more than 78 percent of the female employees were in clerical positions, but only 8.4 percent of the males were clerical. The professional area was 72.3 percent male, but only 16.4 percent female.

The pattern of male dominance was even more clearly spelled out in terms of salary. Sixty-seven percent of the female employees received less than \$10,000 per year, compared to 7.8 percent of the males. Women represented only 17 (11.7 percent) of the 145 employees paid over \$16,000 a year.

Mexican Americans had 10.9 percent of the jobs; blacks, 7.1 percent. However, 59.1 percent of all

²⁷ State of Texas, Office of the Governor, computer printout, based on Form EEO-4 for 1977, dated Jan. 1, 1978 (hereafter cited as Governor's EEO-4 printout 1977).

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Col. J. Wilson Speir, Texas Department of Public Safety, testimony, *Hearing Before the United States Commission on Civil Rights*, San Antonio, Texas, Dec. 9-14, 1968, pp. 715-34 (hereafter cited as San Antonio Hearing).

³⁰ Governor's EEO-4 printout 1977.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Speir Testimony, San Antonio Hearing.

³³ Norman V. Suarez, EEO coordinator/general counsel, to J. Richard Avena, Director, Southwest Regional Office, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Nov. 8, 1978, in Southwest Regional Office files.

³⁴ Governor's EEO-4 printout 1977.

blacks and 47.1 percent of all Mexican Americans were in clerical jobs. Only 38.4 percent of the Anglos were in this area. Of the 32 administrators, 2 (6.3 percent) were black, none Mexican American, and the rest (30) Anglo.

Half of the blacks and 44.1 percent of the Mexican Americans employed in the Texas Attorney General's office made less than \$10,000 annually; one-third of the Anglos were paid at that rate.

Boards and Commissions

As with most other areas of State government, the administration of justice is characterized by heavy reliance on boards and commissions.

Board of Corrections

The Texas Board of Corrections is charged with the administration of the Texas Department of Corrections. Nine members are appointed by the Governor. The board appoints the director of prisons and generally oversees the operation of the system. Of the nine members currently serving on the board, one is an Hispanic male and one is a black male. There are no women.³⁵

Employees of the Department of Corrections

The State of Texas operates a large prison system made up of 15 separate penitentiaries or "units" located north and west of Houston. In July 1977 there were just under 20,000 prisoners, of whom 44.1 percent were black, 18 percent Mexican American, and 37.7 percent Anglo.³⁶ Almost 96 percent of the prison population was male. Of the women, however, 53 percent were black, 11.8 percent Mexican American, and 35 percent Anglo.³⁷

In 1977 the Texas Department of Corrections employed 2,945 persons, of whom 2,612 (88.7 percent) were male.³⁸ Almost 45 percent of the female work force was in the clerical area while less than 0.5 percent of the male employees were listed in that category. Women accounted for only 4 (4.8 percent) of the 83 administrators, 30 (6.1 percent) of the 491 professionals, 2 (1.0 percent) of the 197 skilled craft workers, and 126 (6.9 percent) of the 1,820 guards.

The salary breakdown reflects the same underutilization of women. Almost 77 percent of the female work force received less than \$10,000 per year,

while only 42.8 percent of the males were below this level. Only 7 (3.8 percent) of the 183 persons earning over \$16,000 annually were women. All of the 21 persons with salaries above \$25,000 were men.

In terms of minority employment, blacks accounted for 7.4 percent and Mexican Americans for 5.7 percent of the Texas Department of Corrections labor force. Most of the minority employment was concentrated in the protective services. Yet blacks and Mexican Americans together made up only 17.7 percent of the guard force. One Mexican American and 2 black males were among the 83 administrators at the Texas Department of Corrections in 1977.

Only 4.3 percent of Anglo employees earned less than \$10,000 annually, compared to 72.6 percent of the Mexican American and 68.2 percent of black employees. The highest paid Mexican American female received less than \$10,000 per year and only eight black females exceeded her salary. On the other end of the picture, Mexican Americans and blacks accounted for only 3 (1.6 percent) of the 183 positions paying more than \$16,000 per year.

Board of Pardons and Paroles

In Texas the power to pardon, commute, or grant reprieves or parole is vested in the Governor, who may only act upon the recommendation of a three-person board. One of the board members is appointed by the Governor, a second by the chief justice of the supreme court, and the third by the presiding justice of the court of criminal appeals. Each appointment requires the concurrence of the Texas Senate.³⁹ Of the three members of the Texas Board of Pardons and Paroles in 1977, two were Anglo males and one was a black female.⁴⁰

Employees of the Board of Pardons and Paroles

The Texas Board of Pardons and Paroles employed 241 persons in 1977.⁴¹ Of these, 47.7 percent (115) were male and 52.3 percent (126) were female. Women were significantly overrepresented in clerical positions (76 percent of all female employment as opposed to 2.6 percent of all male employment of the board) and underrepresented in the administrative (76.9 percent male) and professional (82.9 percent male) categories.

³⁵ Dean W. Hamm, assistant director, personnel, to J. Richard Avena, Nov. 13, 1978, in Southwestern Regional Office files.

³⁶ State Advisory Committees to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *The Unfinished Business. Twenty Years Later* (1977), pp. 186-87.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Governor's EEO-4 printout 1977.

³⁹ Tex. Const. Art. 4, sec. 11.

⁴⁰ Henry W. Jackson, personnel director, to J. Richard Avena, Nov. 8, 1978, in Southwest Regional Office files.

⁴¹ Governor's EEO-4 printout 1977.

In terms of salary, 65.1 percent of the females employed by the board received less than \$7,999 annually; in contrast to only 2.6 percent of the male workers. Three women and 19 men made more than \$16,000 per year.

Minority-group members were 42.3 percent of all board employees (blacks 28.2 percent and Mexican Americans 14.1 percent). Minority women made up 23.2 percent of all employment and 44.4 percent (56) of the 126 women working for the board. Of the 56 minority women, 48 (85.7 percent) were in clerical work. Eleven of the 13 Mexican American and 30 of the 33 black men were in professional work. Four of the 13 administrators were black (3 men and 1 woman), but no Mexican American had an administrative post. Of the 123 professionals, 12 (9.8 percent) were Mexican American (11 men and 1 woman) and 35 (28.5 percent) were black (30 men and 5 women).

Minorities were concentrated at the lower levels of the salary scale. One-half of the Mexican Americans and 41.2 percent of the blacks employed by the pardon and parole board earned less than \$7,999 annually, while only 29 percent of the Anglos were at this level. Again, minority women were worst off, with 71.4 percent of the Mexican American and 80 percent of the black women earning less than \$7,999 per year; 55.7 percent of the white women were at this level. No Mexican Americans and only 4 blacks were among the 19 employees making over \$16,000 per year.

Other Boards and Commissions

Criminal Justice Division

The Texas Criminal Justice Division Advisory Board recommends a criminal justice plan to the Governor.

Of the board's 30 members in 1977, 1 was a woman (3.3 percent). Four of the members were minority (three Mexican American men and one black man).⁴²

Commission on Jail Standards

This commission is responsible for setting minimum standards for the construction, maintenance, and operation of county jail facilities, as well as for the care and treatment of prisoners, staffing levels,

and rehabilitative and educational programs. It may act to prohibit the confinement of prisoners in substandard facilities.

The commission has nine members appointed by the Governor with the concurrence of the State senate. Two of the members must be sheriffs, one a county judge, one a physician, and five who hold no public office.⁴³

In 1977 all members of the Texas Commission on Jail Standards were male. One Mexican American (11.1 percent) served on the commission, but no blacks.⁴⁴

Texas Commission on Judicial Conduct

This commission may initiate the removal, sanction, or censure of any judge or justice in the State. It is comprised of 11 members of whom 2 are appellate justices, 2 district judges, and 1 justice of the peace (all appointed by the State supreme court), 2 lawyers (appointed by the State bar) and 4 lay citizens (appointed by the Governor).⁴⁵

All the members of the Texas Commission on Judicial Conduct were Anglo males in 1977.⁴⁶ The commission had two employees during 1977. One was an Anglo male administrator earning over \$25,000 a year, and the other was an Anglo female paraprofessional at between \$10,000 and \$12,999 a year.

Texas Judicial Council

The Texas Judicial Council was created to study the State's judicial system. In particular, it examines organizational rules, procedures, practices, work output, and results with an end of suggesting methods for improvement.⁴⁷

The council is composed of nine ex-officio and nine appointive members. The ex-officio members include the chief justice of the supreme court, two justices of the court of civil appeals, two presiding judges of the administrative judicial districts, and the chairperson and immediate past chairperson of the Texas Senate and House judiciary committees. The other nine members are appointed by the Governor and must include seven members of the State bar and two nonlawyers, one of whom must be a journalist.

⁴² Willis Whatley, general counsel, to J. Richard Avena, Nov. 7, 1978, in Southwest Regional Office files.

⁴³ Guy Van Cleve, executive director, to J. Richard Avena, Nov. 6, 1978, in Southwest Regional Office files.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ *Judicial Council Annual Report—1977*, pp. 15-17.

⁴⁶ Governor's EEO-4 printout 1977.

⁴⁷ *Judicial Council Annual Report—1977*, pp. 11-13.

In 1977 all members of the judicial council were Anglo males.⁴⁸

Texas Judicial Planning Committee

The judicial planning committee was created by the supreme court in 1977 to establish a planning capacity for the courts of the State and to ensure that the State courts receive an adequate share of Law Enforcement Assistance Agency (LEAA) funds. It has 21 members representing trial and appellate judges; criminal, civil, and juvenile judges; prosecutors and defenders; legislators; general practitioners; and law professors. In 1977 one black female (4.8 percent) and one (4.8 percent) Anglo female were on the committee. The balance of the members were Anglo males.⁴⁹

Texas Adult Probation Commission

The Texas Adult Probation Commission was created in 1977. The chief justice of the supreme court and the presiding judge of the court of criminal appeals each appoint two district court judges as members. In addition, two citizen members are chosen by the chief justice of the supreme court and one citizen member is chosen by the presiding judge of the court of criminal appeals. The commission had a budget of \$761,000 in 1978 and \$19 million in 1979 to make probation services available throughout the State, provide alternatives to confinement in jail, and establish uniform probation administration standards.⁵⁰

In 1977 one Mexican American man and one black woman were on this nine-member commission. Anglo men filled the rest of the posts.⁵¹

Texas Board of Law Examiners

The board of law examiners acts under the supervision of the supreme court to administer the laws of the State of Texas and the rules of the supreme court, which govern the admission to the practice of law in the State.⁵²

The board had nine members in 1977. One was a black male, one a Mexican American male, and two were Anglo females. The rest were Anglo males.⁵³

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 18-19.

⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 20-21.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 20.

⁵² Ibid., p. 23.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 22.

⁵⁴ Willis Whatley, general counsel, to J. Richard Avena, Nov. 7, 1978, in Southwest Regional Office files.

Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Advisory Board

This board was established after the passage of the Juvenile Justice and Prevention Act and has the responsibility of making recommendations to the criminal justice division's advisory board on issues related to juvenile justice.

The board had 25 members in 1978, of whom 10 were women. Eighty percent of the board was Anglo (13 males and 7 females), 12 percent Mexican American (1 male and 2 females), and 8 percent black (2 males).⁵⁴

The boards and commissions that relate to the administration of justice are dominated by Anglo males. The majority of the female, black, and Mexican American members on these boards and commissions are on the ones that appear to be set up to administer Federal funds or Federal activities.

District Attorneys

Persons accused of violating State law are almost always prosecuted by officials elected on a county or multicounty level. They are usually called district attorneys or criminal district attorneys.

In 1968 Texas had 101 district attorneys. Of these, one (1.0 percent) was a Mexican American male and one (1.0 percent) was a Mexican American female. No Anglo females or blacks were district attorneys.⁵⁵

In 1977 the number of district attorneys had risen to 119. Three (2.5 percent) were Mexican American males and one (0.8 percent) a Mexican American female. The balance were Anglo males. As in 1968 no Anglo females or blacks were district attorneys.⁵⁶

County Attorneys

The county attorney is charged with advising county officials and, in some situations, with prosecuting or assisting the district attorney in prosecuting criminal matters.

In 1968, 233 persons served as county attorneys. Two (0.9 percent) were Anglo women, three (1.3 percent) were Mexican American men, and one (0.4 percent) was a Mexican American woman.⁵⁷

In 1977 Texas had 218 county attorneys. Four (1.8 percent) were Anglo women, eight (3.7 percent)

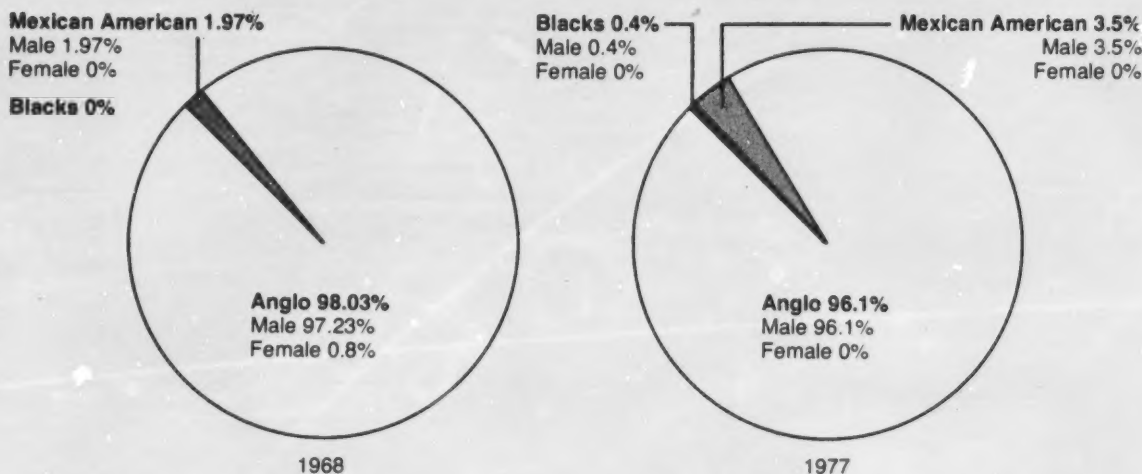
⁵⁵ Dallas Morning News, *Texas Almanac* 1967-68 (Austin: A.H. Belo Corp., 1967), pp. 534-40.

⁵⁶ Dallas Morning News, *Texas Almanac* 1978-79 (Austin: A.H. Belo Corp., 1978), pp. 600-07.

⁵⁷ Dallas Morning News, *Texas Almanac* 1967-68, pp. 529-33.

Figure 4.7

Offices of the Sheriff by Race, Ethnicity, and Sex, 1968 and 1977



Minority group members have made only minimal gains in the Office of Sheriff in the 10 year study period. Female Sheriffs have declined.

Sources: The Dallas Morning News, *Texas Almanac* 1967-1968 (Austin: A. H. Belo Corp.) 1968, pp. 534-39. The Dallas Morning News, *Texas Almanac* 1978-1979 (Austin: A. H. Belo Corp.) 1978, pp. 534-40.

were Mexican American men, and one (0.4 percent) was a Mexican American woman. There were no black county attorneys in either 1967 or 1978.⁵⁸

Sheriffs

The county sheriff, a political as well as social figure in Texas counties, is charged with enforcing the law, particularly in nonincorporated areas. In some of the smaller counties the sheriff also is responsible for voter registration and tax assessment and collection.⁵⁹ In 1968, five (2.0 percent) sheriffs were Mexican American men and two (0.8 percent) were Anglo women; the remainder were Anglo men.⁶⁰

In 1977 nine (3.5 percent) Hispanics and one (0.4 percent) black man were county sheriffs.⁶¹ The remaining 96.1 percent were Anglo men. (See figure 4.7.)

⁵⁸ Dallas Morning News, *Texas Almanac* 1978-79, pp. 594-99.

⁵⁹ Tex. Const. Art. 8, sec. 16.

Grand Jury Selection Process

The Texas Constitution provides that grand juries shall be composed of 12 persons. This jury must determine whether probable cause exists to believe that an offense has been committed. If nine of the grand jurors deem that there is probable cause, the accused individual is indicted and usually is tried for the offense. This step in the criminal justice process is important because nearly all felonies come before grand juries in Texas, and a high proportion of these indicted are never actually tried, but instead plead guilty.

The grand jury in Texas serves other important functions in the judicial process. It may initiate investigations on its own authority in a wide range of areas—from allegations of political corruption to judicial reform, from allegations of police brutality to narcotics smuggling. Generally, grand juries that have undertaken special investigations issue final

⁶⁰ Dallas Morning News, *Texas Almanac* 1967-68, pp. 534-39.

⁶¹ Dallas Morning News, *Texas Almanac* 1978-79, pp. 594-99.

Table 4.1

Grand Jury Study Summary, Venire Chosen by Grand Jury Commissions

Region	County under (-) or overrepresentation (+) based on population ¹				
	Spanish Surname	Spanish Surname Female	Black	Black Female	Female As A Class
Central Region					
Bastrop	-32.8	-75.7	-49	-70	-63.8
Comal	-36.9	-73.0	*	*	-35.0
Hays	-37.9	-66.2	*	*	-55.5
Travis	+6.7	-2.7	+45.0	+3.4	-39.2
Eastern Region					
Anderson	*	*	-62.9	-84.7	-59.7
Angelina	-47.6*	-63.6*	-74.0	-92.0	-57.0
Freestone	*	*	-54.7	-66.1	-57.3
Grimes	-61.1	-83.3	-46.3	-77.4	-62.0
Houston	*	*	-80.6	-92.9	-61.7
Jefferson	+40.0	-68.2	-73.5	-12.2	-69.9
Limestone	*	*	-80.6	-100.0	-71.8
Madison	*	*	-60.7	-70.8	-32.9
Rusk	*	*	-66.9	-66.4	-77.5
Trinity	*	*	-79.6	-92.4	-49.6
Waller	*	*	-85.2	-99.7	-72.1
Camp ²	*	*	-51.7	-91.8	-61.0
Case ²	*	*	-69.6	-92.1	-82.5
Falls ²	-65.2	-87.0	-78.9	-93.5	-72.9
Gregg ²	*	*	-77.9	-82.2	-77.6
Harris ³	-14.4	—	+13.8	—	-29.7
Harrison ²	*	*	-53.8	-87.1	-84.6
Marion ²	*	*	-64.4	-79.4	-68.1
Morris ²	*	*	-78.0	-82.5	-72.3
Penola ²	*	*	-40.4	-81.3	-70.2
Robertson	-14.9	-54.8	-57.1	-90.0	-69.9
Shelby	*	*	-68.9	-92.2	-85.5
Upshur	*	*	-30.7	-74.5	-79.5
North Texas					
Dallas	-31.3	-42.2	-50.0	-78.2	-35.6
Kaufman	*	*	-71.8	-82.5	-78.2

¹ Under (-) or overrepresentation (+) computed by formula: under or overrepresentation = ideal minus actual

ideal

² Based on jury as the venire not available.

³ Based on a study one by another person looking only at minority and female composition.

Deviation for Mexican Americans or blacks not computed where they made up less than 8 percent of the county population.

Region

County under (-) or overrepresentation (+) based on population¹

	Spanish Surname	Spanish Surname Female	Black	Black Female	Female As A Class
North					
Alameda	-55.1	-75.5	.	.	-55.2
Berkeley	-57.5	-57.5	.	.	-57.5
Butte	-55.5	-70.5	+35.3	-48.5	-52.0
Colusa	-55.7	-55.7	+4.2	-50.3	-54.2
Contra Costa	-55.5	-57.7	-55.7	-52.5	-55.5
Elgin	-55.5	-57.1	-52.5	-55.5	-70.0
Maricopa	-55.4	-73.5	.	.	-49.5
Maricopa	-55.5	-71.5	.	.	-44.1
Maricopa	-55.5	-55.7	.	.	-55.5
Maricopa	-55.1	-52.5	.	.	-55.4
Maricopa	-70.1	-53.5	.	.	-57.5
Maricopa	-55.0	-57.1	.	.	-55.5
Maricopa	-55.5	-55.7	-5.2	-75.5	-55.5
Maricopa	-55.5	-50.2	.	.	-51.1
Maricopa	-55.2	-75.4	+25.3	-75.5	-52.7
Maricopa	-55.2	-71.1	.	.	-55.2
South					
Alameda	-55.4	-54.3	.	.	-55.2
Alameda	-75.5	-55.5	.	.	-71.7
Alameda	-55.7	-54.3	-45.5	+12.5	-70.5
Alameda	-72.0	-75.1	-10.5	-44.4	-47.2
Alameda	-73.5	-73.1	.	.	-45.0
Alameda	-55.1	-57.5	.	.	-54.4
Alameda	-45.0	-55.1	.	.	-47.5
Alameda	-51.5	-52.0	.	.	-72.4
Alameda	-55.5	-55.5	.	.	-50.7
Alameda	-55.2	-55.3	.	.	-55.5
Alameda	-5.0	-53.4	.	.	-51.3
Alameda	-55.7	-51.5	.	.	-55.0
West					
Alameda	-75.7	-55.5	.	.	-55.5
Alameda	-55.5	-75.5	.	.	-55.5
Alameda	-75.2	-54.5	.	.	-55.5
Alameda	-55.2	-55.2	.	.	-57.5
Alameda	-55.5	-55.2	.	.	-52.0
Alameda	-71.1	-55.2	.	.	-52.0

Deviation for Mexican Americans or blacks not computed where they made up less than 5 percent of the county population.

reports that direct recommendations to local and State officials, as well as the general public. These special reports can have significant political effect on the formulation of public policy.⁶²

During the 1968-78 study period, Texas employed the "key man" system for selecting grand jurors.⁶³ According to this method, a district judge convenes the grand jury and appoints from three to five jury commissioners. These commissioners are then responsible for selecting not less than 15 nor more than 20 persons "from the citizens of different portions of the county."⁶⁴ These 15 to 20 individuals comprise the jury list or pool from which the grand jury is chosen. The qualifications of those not excused from grand jury service are "tested" by the district judge convening the jury.⁶⁵ According to Texas law, a grand juror must be a citizen of Texas and a resident of the county from which the grand jury is derived, be a qualified voter in the county (not a registered voter), "be of sound mind and good moral character," be literate, have no prior felony convictions, and be under no pending indictment or other "legal accusation."⁶⁶ A jury is empaneled after 12 of the individuals selected by the jury commissioners are found to meet the qualifications.⁶⁷

This method of grand juror selection obviously places a great amount of discretion in the hands of an elected State judge and the grand jury commissioners. Biases or disparities reflected in the grand jury composition, then, may well be products of the discretion exercised by the judge and the "key men." In any event, discretion and choice characterize this system; random selection does not.

During the 1979 session of the legislature, an alternative method for the selection of grand jurors was created. Under it the jurors may be chosen at random using the same procedure used to select juries for civil cases. In effect, the jurors are then chosen at random from the residents of the county. Which procedure will be used is left to the discretion of the district judge.⁶⁸

The Texas Advisory Committee determined that it would be of value to examine how well the commissioner method of choosing grand jurors has worked. A study was done of 63 counties to find out if in a 10-year period, women and minority-group

members have been represented on grand jury panels in relation to their proportion in the county population. Earlier studies of State grand jury composition in Texas have revealed substantial disparities in the makeup of grand juries in several counties. However, the purpose of this survey was to analyze the results of the commissioner method of grand juror selection in a large enough sample to afford a basis for drawing statewide conclusions. To sharpen the analysis, the six regions previously described were used as one of the bases of selecting counties for analysis.

The survey of grand jury representatives came to a dismal finding: among the 63 counties, only 1, Travis County (in central Texas), did not severely underrepresent its predominant minority-group population. In most of the counties, all of the ethnic or racial groups studied are underrepresented.

The counties in this study included (according to the 1970 census) 59.5 percent of all Texans and 66.8 percent of the State's black and 60.7 percent of its Hispanic population. The wide range of population sizes and geographic locations should be noted. Together with the regional concept, this survey assures a comprehensive sampling of Texas counties.

Mexican American and black women are the most underrepresented of all groups. With few exceptions, it is only in the last few years that they have served as grand jurors at all.

It is also significant that a number of the counties surveyed reported that the district judge gave specific instructions to the grand jury commissioners that they should go out of their way to name women and minority-group members to their lists of proposed grand jurors. The massive pattern of underrepresentation exists in spite of these instructions. Table 4.1 summarizes the pattern of underrepresentation on the lists (venires) composed by the grand jury commissioners.

The jury commissioner system has consistently produced grand juries that underrepresent both women and minorities.

⁶² The information for the portions of this report dealing with grand juries is based generally on a report prepared under contract by the Intercultural Development Research Association, "Minorities and Women in Selected Texas Institutions," (San Antonio: 1978), vol. 3, chap. 7, p. 119 ff.

⁶³ Code of Criminal Procedure Art. 19.01.

⁶⁴ Id.

⁶⁵ Id.

⁶⁶ Id.

⁶⁷ Id.

⁶⁸ Grand Jurors Selection—Excuses Texas Acts of 1979, H.B. No. 1436 Ch. 184 at 393 (West) (to be codified as Vernon's Annotated Code of Criminal Procedure Art. 19.01).

Local and County Law Enforcement

Law enforcement at the local and county levels is handled by the police and sheriffs' departments. Each operates independently and must look to the city councils and county commissions for the majority of their financial support. In most cities and counties the position of police officer or deputy sheriff is one of the more highly paid positions.

The following overall analysis of city and county law enforcement employment is based on the 1977 EEOC survey of cities and counties in Texas. Once again, it is important to look at the types of positions held by women and minorities as well as their income levels.

Counties: South Texas Region

The south Texas region includes Bexar (San Antonio), Nueces (Corpus Christi), and Cameron (Brownsville) Counties and has a total population of 2,024,453 persons. More than 82.6 percent of the police in the counties surveyed were men.⁶⁹ Women were disproportionately concentrated in the clerical area—over 73 percent of the female work force as opposed to only 4.9 percent of the male work force. Almost 92 percent of the women and 70.7 percent of the men earned less than \$10,000 per year. No women earned more than \$16,000 per year.

The population of the south Texas region was 52.4 percent Mexican American and 4.7 percent black. Among county police protection employees, 53.4 percent were Mexican American and 2.6 percent black. Eighty percent of the Mexican American but only 55.7 percent of the Anglo employees earned less than \$10,000 annually. Of the nine persons earning more than \$16,000 a year, only two (22.2 percent) were Mexican American.

Counties: West Texas Region

The west Texas region with a total population of 1,071,239 includes the counties of El Paso, Midland, and Tom Green (San Angelo). There were 325 persons employed in police protection by the counties in the EEOC survey.⁷⁰ Of these, 256 (78.8 percent) were men. Women, clearly underrepresented in the work force, tended to be less concentrated in clerical positions here than elsewhere. While all of the 21 clerical workers were women, they were less than one-third of overall female employment. Forty-

eight percent of the women were in protective services, an improvement over the other regions studied, but one that should not obscure women's low share of total police employment and low earnings. Almost 96 percent of the women in police protection earned less than \$10,000 per year, as opposed to 56.6 percent of the men. No woman received a salary of more than \$13,000 annually.

Almost 32 (31.4) percent of the population were Mexican American and 3.8 percent were black. However, the EEOC survey found that the region's law enforcement personnel were approximately 20 percent Mexican American and 4 percent black. More than 70 percent of the Mexican Americans were in protective services. It is significant, however, that almost 80 percent of these minority employees received a salary below \$10,000 per year, as opposed to 45.8 percent of the Anglos.

There was only one minority administrator and one minority professional. Both were Mexican Americans earning less than \$10,000 annually. On the other end of the pay scale, only two minority persons (one black and one Mexican American) made more than \$13,000 per year.

Counties: East Texas Region

The counties in the east Texas region include Harris (Houston), Jefferson (Beaumont and Port Arthur), and Galveston. The population of the region was 3,681,256. The counties in the EEOC survey employed a total of 1,691 persons in county law enforcement.⁷¹ Men were 79.5 percent of this work force.

More than half (53.2 percent) of the women employees held clerical jobs. There were 24 (23.1 percent) women among the 104 administrators. Two-thirds of the female administrators made less than \$10,000 per year, compared to less than 14 percent of the male administrators at that level. Women were 8.6 percent of the protective services area. Overall, 61.3 percent of the women and 18.1 percent of the men employed in county police protection were paid below \$10,000 a year. Again, few women were among those at the higher end of the pay scale.

Blacks were 9.1 percent and Mexican Americans 4.6 percent of the law enforcement personnel in the counties in the EEOC survey. The population of the east Texas region was 20.7 percent black and 7.7

⁶⁹ EEOC Statistical File, State of Texas, computer printout, County by Function; Administration of Justice, July 25, 1979.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

percent Mexican American. There were only 3 blacks (2.9 percent) and 1 (0.96 percent) Mexican American among the 104 administrators. Thirteen (14.8 percent) blacks and 6 (6.8 percent) Mexican Americans were among the 88 professionals. In the important protective services area, blacks were 8.1 percent and Mexican Americans 5.3 percent, respectively, of the 1,227 positions.

In terms of salary, of those jobs at \$16,000 per year and above, blacks and Mexican Americans held only 7.7 percent and 4.4 percent, respectively.

Counties: Panhandle-High Plains Region

Counties in the Panhandle-High Plains region include Lubbock (Lubbock) and Potter (Amarillo). The region has a population of 671,733 persons, 14.2 percent Mexican American and 5.0 percent black. The EEOC survey for this region shows that county law enforcement personnel here were paid considerably less than in other regions. No employee was reported receiving more than \$16,000 a year, and almost two-thirds earned less than \$10,000.⁷³

Women were 21.3 percent of the employment, and almost 42 percent of the women were in clerical jobs. Two (12.5 percent) were professionals; no women were administrators, paraprofessionals, or service and maintenance workers. Almost half (27 of 55) of the female employees were in protective services. However, the vast majority were in the lower salary ranges: 55.5 percent of the women in protective service made less than \$8,000 per year, while only 10.8 percent of the men were at that level. Overall, women were disproportionately located in the lower paying jobs. Almost 73 percent of the women earned less than \$8,000 per year, as opposed to 15.8 percent of the men. All of the employees earning in excess of \$13,000 annually were Anglo men.

In racial and ethnic terms, the counties in the survey employed six (2.3 percent) blacks and six (2.3 percent) Mexican Americans. All of the blacks and five of the six Mexican Americans were in protective services where they represented 3.1 percent and 2.6 percent of the employment, respectively. The other Mexican American was a professional earning less than \$8,000 per year. Most (8 of 12) minorities earned in the mid-range of \$10,000 to \$13,000 per

year. Once again, all of the persons who earned over \$13,000 per year were Anglo men.

Counties: North Texas Region

The counties in the north Texas region include Dallas and Tarrant (Fort Worth). The total regional population was 2,867,519 persons. County law enforcement jobs in the EEOC sample numbered 788; 209 (26.7 percent) were held by women.⁷⁴ Almost 68 percent of the women were clerical personnel, while only 7 percent of the men were clerical workers. In terms of salary, again women tended to be on the lower end of the wage scale. Over three-fourths of female employees, but only 22.8 percent of male employees, earned less than \$10,000 per year. Women had only 2 (2.4 percent) of the 81 jobs paying more than \$16,000 a year.

The north Texas region was 12.9 percent black and 5.7 percent Mexican American. County law enforcement workers according to the EEOC survey were 8.9 percent black and 2.5 percent Mexican American. No minority persons worked as administrators, and only two blacks (2.9 percent) and one (1.5 percent) Mexican American male were employed as professionals. Clerical positions had the largest number of minority-group members: 36 blacks (19.7 percent) and 4 Mexican Americans (2.2 percent). The next largest concentration was in protective services with 22 (5.4 percent) blacks and 11 (2.7 percent) Hispanics.

In terms of salary, more than 57 percent of the blacks received less than \$10,000 per year, compared to only 35.0 percent of the Anglos. Again, minority women fared the worst. Four of the five Mexican American females (80 percent) and 35 of the 42 black females (83.3 percent) earned less than \$10,000 a year. All of the persons earning over \$16,000 per year were Anglo.

Counties: Central Texas Region

The central Texas region had a population of 880,530 and included Travis (Austin) and McClellan (Waco) Counties. Employment in county police protection totaled 269, according to the EEOC sample.⁷⁴ More than 79 percent were men.

Almost two-thirds of the women were in clerical positions. There were no female administrators and only one (11.1 percent) female professional. Only

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

seven (4.8 percent) women were in the important protective services function.

In terms of salary, 83.6 percent of the women and 49.1 percent of the men earned less than \$10,000 per year. No women were paid more than \$13,000 per year.

Thirteen (6.7 percent) of the 269 county law enforcement employees were Mexican American, and 15 (5.6 percent) were black. The region's population was 12.2 percent Mexican American and 7.9 percent black. No minority employees earned more than \$13,000 per year.

Cities: South Texas Region

The cities in the south Texas region include San Antonio, Corpus Christi, Brownsville, McAllen, and Laredo. The EEOC survey of cities showed 2,555 persons in police protection,⁷⁶ out of a regional population of 2,024,453.

Almost 88 percent of the city police employees were men. In excess of 80 percent of the women were in clerical positions. There were no female administrators; just over 2 percent of the professionals were women. Similarly, only 2.3 percent of the 1,764 protective service employees were women.

In terms of salary, 88.8 percent of the women in this region received less than \$10,000 per year, while just over 25 percent of the men were at that level. All of the persons earning over \$16,000 per year were men.

The south Texas region was 52.4 percent Mexican American and 4.7 percent black. Slightly over 45 percent of city police employment in the EEOC survey of south Texas was Hispanic (38.5 percent male and 6.8 percent female). Blacks were 3 percent (2.5 percent male and 0.5 percent female) of the workers. Twelve (22.6 percent) of the 53 administrative positions were held by Mexican Americans. However, the five highest paid administrators were all Anglo males. Fully 46.7 percent of the Mexican American but only 21 percent of the Anglo employees earned less than \$10,000 per year. Of the 258 persons making \$16,000 a year or more, 192 (74.4 percent) were Anglos, 3 (1.2 percent) were blacks, and 63 (24.4 percent) Mexican Americans.

⁷⁶ EEOC Statistical File, State of Texas, computer printout, Cities by Function: Administration of Justice, July 25, 1979.

Cities: West Texas Region

The cities in west Texas include El Paso, Midland, and San Angelo. The region had a population of 1,071,239 persons.

The 1977 EEOC survey showed 1,583 persons employed in city police protection.⁷⁸ Of these, 1,355 (85.6 percent) were males and 228 (14.4 percent) females. Again, the majority of women (75.9 percent) were in clerical employment. There were no female administrators. Women held 0.8 percent of the professional and 4.0 percent of the technical positions. Significantly, only 32 (3.2 percent) women were listed among the 993 persons in protective services.

In terms of salary, 89.5 percent of the women employed in the west Texas city law enforcement sample earned less than \$10,000 per year, compared to only 18.7 percent of the men. All persons earning above \$16,000 annually were male.

Mexican Americans were 31.4 percent of west Texas population; blacks, 3.8 percent. Of those holding protective services jobs in the EEOC sample of west Texas cities, 30.2 percent were Mexican American, and 2.2 percent were black. Just 21.5 percent of the persons earning over \$16,000 per year were Mexican American. No blacks were in this category.

Cities: East Texas Region

The east Texas region had a population of 3,681,256. The cities in the EEOC sample, including Houston, employed 5,510 persons in police protection.⁷⁷ Of these, 84.9 percent were male and 15.1 percent female. However, women had almost 93 percent of the clerical positions. In terms of salary, 68.5 percent of the females earned less than \$10,000 per year, while only 2.7 percent of those above \$16,000 per year were women.

Blacks were 20.7 percent and Mexican Americans 7.7 percent of the area's population. In city law enforcement, blacks filled 7.4 percent of the positions and Mexican Americans 5.6 percent. There was only 1 (1.0 percent) black and 1 (1.0 percent) Mexican American (both males) among the 102 administrators. By the same token, minority-group members were underutilized in professional positions (2.1 percent black and 5.6 percent Mexican American). In the protective services classification, blacks and Mexican Americans accounted for 5.1

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

percent and 5.8 percent, respectively. However, almost 78 percent (61.2 percent black and 16.4 percent Mexican American) of the service and maintenance jobs were held by minority-group members.

Almost 43 percent of the blacks were paid less than \$10,000 annually. In particular, 78.4 percent of the black and 70.3 percent of the Mexican American women fell into that category. On the other end of the scale, blacks and Mexican Americans accounted for less than 3.0 and 3.8 percent, respectively, of those paid more than \$16,000 a year.

Cities: Panhandle-High Plains Region

This region of 671,733 persons includes the cities of Lubbock and Amarillo. There were 673 law enforcement employees working for cities in the EEOC sample.⁷⁸ Of these, 550 (81.7 percent) were male. More than three-fourths of the 123 women were in traditional clerical positions. No women were in the 66 professional positions, and only 20 were among the 380 persons in protective services.

The salary breakdown reflected a similar underutilization of women. Fully 88.6 percent of the women employed in the city police work in the Panhandle made less than \$10,000 per year; only 15.1 percent of the men were at this level. On the other end of the scale, only 3 (1.5 percent) of the 205 persons making over \$13,000 per year were women.

Mexican Americans were 14.2 percent and blacks 5.0 percent of the Panhandle-High Plains population. Of the 673 city law enforcement employees, 31 (4.6 percent) were Mexican American and 22 (3.3 percent) black. All of the Mexican American women and 13 of the 14 black women were in clerical jobs. Hispanics held only 3.9 percent and blacks 1.8 percent of the protective services jobs. Thirteen of the 14 administrators were Anglo (92.8 percent). There was no black and only one (7.2 percent) Hispanic administrator. Mexican Americans accounted for only 6.1 percent of the professionals and 1.0 percent of the technicians. No blacks were in these categories.

The salary breakdown also reflects underutilization. All of the minority women made less than \$10,000 per year, and all of the persons earning over \$16,000 per year were Anglos. Only two Mexican Americans were paid more than \$13,000 a year.

⁷⁸ Ibid.
⁷⁹ Ibid.

Cities: North Texas Region

The north Texas region had a population of 2,867,519 persons. The sample cities in this region, including Dallas and Fort Worth, had a total of 5,539 employees in police protection.⁷⁹

Men held 81.5 percent of the city law enforcement jobs. Again, women were concentrated in the traditional area, with 72.7 percent in clerical positions. Women were largely excluded from nontraditional areas, occupying only 3.9 percent of the administrative and 4.8 percent of the professional positions. Significantly, women accounted for only 198 (5.2 percent) of the 3,805 jobs in protective services.

Women again held a disproportionate number of lower paying jobs. More than 64 percent of the female employees made less than \$10,000 per year, while barely 12 percent of their male counterparts were at this level. Only 10 (1.5 percent) of the 674 persons receiving over \$16,000 per year were women.

Blacks, 12.9 percent of area residents, held 5.4 percent of the city police jobs; Hispanics, 5.7 percent of the overall population, were 3.3 percent of the city law enforcement employees. Among 204 administrators, only 1 (0.5 percent) was black and 3 (1.5 percent) Mexican American. Of the 209 professionals, 4 (1.9 percent) were black, and 5 (2.4 percent) were Hispanic. Four percent of protective services workers were black and 3.3 percent were Mexican American. Significantly, almost 10 percent of the Anglo males in the protective services category made over \$16,000 per year, compared to only 2.6 percent of the blacks and Mexican Americans.

Cities: Central Texas Region

This region of 880,530 persons includes the cities of Austin and Waco. The EEOC survey found 1,495 persons in police work, more than 82 percent of them male.⁸⁰

Women were concentrated in clerical positions—over 76.0 percent of female employment. There were no female administrators and less than 2 percent female professionals and technicians. Women made up less than 6.0 percent of the protective services employees.

In terms of salary, more than 87 percent of the women earned less than \$10,000 per year, while only 28.6 percent of their male counterparts were at that

⁸⁰ Ibid.

level. On the other side of the picture, no woman made over \$16,000 a year.

Hispanics accounted for 12.2 percent of the central Texas population and blacks for 11.0 percent. However, they represented only 7.6 and 9.8 percent of the city police employment in the 1977 EEOC sample. There were no blacks and only 1 (3.0 percent) Mexican American male among the region's 33 administrators, as well as only 3 black male (2.5 percent) and 4 Hispanic (3 males and 1 female) professionals. In the area of protective services, blacks comprised 6.6 percent (5.3 percent male and 1.3 percent female) and Hispanics 10.2 percent (9.6 percent male and 0.6 percent female). Almost half (44.4 percent) of the black males, 32.2 percent of the Hispanic males, 95.2 percent of the black females, and 81.3 percent of the Mexican American females made less than \$10,000 per year. This is compared to only 26.9 percent of the Anglo males. On the other end of the salary scale, Anglo males held 86 (94.5 percent) of the 91 positions paying over \$16,000 per year while there were only 2 blacks (2.2 percent) and 3 Mexican American males (3.3 percent) at that level.

Police protection in the cities and counties of Texas is dominated by Anglo men. Women are relegated primarily to traditional positions. Minority men are underutilized and disproportionately located in the lower paid positions. Minority women, however, are the most underrepresented, and virtually all are in the lowest salary classifications.

Federal Level

The administration of justice in Texas at the Federal level is principally the responsibility of the U.S. Department of Justice. The Department maintains numerous agency offices throughout the State that handle investigatory, prosecutorial, judicial, and administrative functions. Among the agencies and bureaus with offices in Texas are the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Border Patrol, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA), U.S. attorneys, U.S. marshals, and Bureau of Prisons. In addition to these agencies, the Federal courts, which are branches of the United States judicial system, operate four Federal district courts. This Federal court system includes Federal judges, magistrates, referees in bankruptcy, and staff.

⁴¹ U.S., Department of Justice, Special Juniper Report by Race, Sex, and Grade Level for Department of Justice Personnel in Texas 1977, computer printout, Sept. 11, 1978.

Overall, in 1977 the Department of Justice had 3,900 employees in Texas.⁴¹ Of these, 944 (21.2 percent) were women. In terms of median salaries, male employees earned at least one-third more than females. Blacks and Mexican Americans held 7.4 percent and 25.7 percent, respectively, of all Justice Department positions. Their median salaries were approximately one-quarter less than those of Anglos.

Immigration and Naturalization Service

In 1977 the Immigration and Naturalization Service had just over 1,800 employees in Texas of whom 1.6 percent were black and 39.7 percent Mexican American.⁴² Women made up approximately 15 percent of the work force. Significantly, nearly 16 percent of the minority but only 3 percent of the Anglo employees were concentrated in jobs usually associated with clerical or manual labor (government service grades GS-1—GS-4). Anglo males held virtually all management, supervisory, and decisionmaking positions (those at GS-12 and above).

Federal Bureau of Investigation

In 1977 the FBI had 436 employees in Texas of whom 321 (73.6 percent) were males.⁴³ Thirty-seven (8.5 percent) employees were Mexican Americans, of whom 19 (4.4 percent) were males and 18 (4.1 percent) females. Black employees numbered 17 (3.9 percent); 5 (1.1 percent) were males and 12 (2.8 percent) females. There were 226 (51.8 percent) positions at or above level GS-12. Of these, 2 (0.4 percent) were held by black males and 10 (2.3 percent) by Mexican American males. The highest Mexican American female was a GS-8 and the highest black female was a GS-5. The highest position held by any female was GS-11.

Drug Enforcement Administration

The Drug Enforcement Administration in Texas had 387 employees, 28.9 percent of them women.⁴⁴ Anglos made up 74.7 percent (55.4 percent male and 19.3 percent female) of the work force, Mexican Americans 18.7 percent (11.6 percent male and 7.1 percent female), and blacks 6.2 percent (4.1 percent male and 2.1 percent female). Of the 248 persons in grades GS-11 through GS-16, usually considered

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

supervisory in nature, 96 percent were men. Anglos were 79.8 percent (77 percent male and 2.8 percent female) of these employees, while Mexican Americans were 15.7 percent (14.9 percent male and 0.8 percent female) and blacks 4.4 percent (all male). On the other end of the scale, women made up 78.3 percent of the grades GS-1—GS-5, generally considered to be secretarial and unskilled labor. Significantly, only 4.6 percent of Anglo males, but 34.7 percent of Anglo females, 51.8 percent of the Mexican American females, and 87.5 percent of the black females were at this lower level.

U.S. Marshal Service

The U.S. Marshals are given authority to maintain order in and to handle service of process for the Federal courts. There were four chief marshals in Texas in 1977. Of these, one was a black and one was a Mexican American. In 1977, 139 persons were employed in the Marshal Service in Texas. Of these, 30 (21.6 percent) were women, 6 (4.3 percent) were black, 18 (12.9 percent) were Hispanic men, and 9 (6.5 percent) were Hispanic women. Significantly, there were no black women in the U.S. Marshal Service in Texas. The highest grade held by a woman was GS-7. Only one Hispanic male was at GS-12 or above, and the highest level held by an Hispanic woman was GS-7.

Federal Courts

Texas has four Federal judicial districts, and each maintains separate administrative offices. In 1968, 16 Federal judges were on regular status. Of these, 14 were Anglo males (87.5 percent), 1 a female (6.3 percent), and 1 (6.3 percent) a Mexican American male.⁴⁵ In 1977, 23 Federal judges were on active status. One (4.3 percent) was Mexican American, one (4.3 percent) was an Anglo female, and the balance (91.3 percent) were Anglo males.⁴⁶ In 1979 the first black Federal district judge was appointed (a female) and a second Mexican American male was added to the bench.

The Federal bankruptcy courts and the U.S. magistrates operate in conjunction with the district judges. Bankruptcy judges, referred to as referees,

administer the Federal bankruptcy statute while magistrates perform a number of procedural duties on behalf of judges. In some situations, magistrates try cases and make recommendations to the district courts. In most cases, the district judge simply adopts these recommendations as the opinion.

In 1977 there were 9 referees in bankruptcy and 33 magistrates.⁴⁷ All of the referees were Anglo men. Thirty Anglo men, 1 Anglo woman, and 2 Mexican American men served as magistrates.

In addition to the district court, the Federal judicial system includes intermediate appellate courts. Texas is currently located in the Fifth Circuit, along with Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida. In 1977, 15 judges sat on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, all Anglo males. In 1979 a Mexican American and a black, both from Texas, were appointed to this appeals court.

Bureau of Prisons

During 1977, 860 persons were employed by the Federal Bureau of Prisons in Texas.⁴⁸ Women were 18.6 percent of that total and generally were clustered in the lower wage levels. For example, approximately 27 percent of female but only 6.3 percent of male employees were found in the levels usually involving secretarial or maintenance workers (GS-1—GS-5). On the other end of the scale, only 16 (7.6 percent) women were among the 211 persons employed at the supervisory or higher employment levels (GS-11—GS-16).

Blacks accounted for 11.4 percent of the total employment of the Bureau of Prisons (9.0 percent male and 2.3 percent female) and Hispanics added another 13.9 percent (12.0 percent male and 1.9 percent female).

In the categories GS-11—GS-16 Anglo women made up 5.2 percent, black men 4.3 percent, black women 1.9 percent, Mexican American men 4.3 percent, and Mexican American women 0.5 percent. Only one Mexican American woman was above the GS-8 level.

The administration of justice is dominated at all levels by Anglo males.

⁴⁵ Dallas Morning News, *Texas Almanac* 1967-68, p. 651.

⁴⁶ Dallas Morning News, *Texas Almanac* 1978-79, pp. 608-09.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ U.S., Department of Justice, Special Juniper Report by Race, Sex, and Grade Level for the Department of Justice Personnel in Texas 1977, computer printout, Sept. 11, 1977.

5. Participation of Minorities and Women in the Texas Political System

Statewide Level

Executive Branch

The executive branch of Texas government consists of the Governor, the Lieutenant Governor, the Attorney General, the Comptroller of Public Accounts, the Commissioner of the General Land Office, the Commissioner of Agriculture, the Secretary of State, and the State Treasurer. With the exception of the Secretary of State, who is appointed by the Governor,¹ all of these officials have been elected since the adoption of the 1876 constitution.

The Texas executive traditionally has been Anglo male. While there have been no Spanish-surnamed or black persons elected as Governor, there has been one woman, Miriam A. "Ma" Ferguson, who served two terms, 1925-27 and 1933-35.²

In the appointive position of Secretary of State, there is a similar pattern. Twice the Secretary of State has been a woman (1925 and 1927) and once a Spanish-surnamed male (1968).

With the exception of the appointment of one Mexican American male as Secretary of State in 1968, no minority or women has held a major position in the executive branch of State government during the study period 1968-78.

Legislative Branch

State Senate

During the period 1968-78, the Texas State Senate was almost exclusively Anglo male. Only two women served as a State senator during this period; one was Barbara Jordan, a black woman. No other blacks and only four Mexican Americans held office in the 1968-78 study period. At no time was there more than 1 woman, 1 black, and 3 Mexican Americans among the 31 State senators.³

House of Representatives

The Texas House of Representatives is composed of 150 members elected from single-member districts from throughout the State. There has been extensive litigation concerning the apportionment of this body and, as a result, some increase in minorities serving will be evident in 1978 as compared to the late 1960s.⁴

Female representation in the Texas House of Representatives has risen from less than 1 percent in 1968 to more than 7 percent 10 years later. Seven of the 11 female representatives serving in 1978 were Anglo. Only one Mexican American and three black women served as representatives during the study period.

During this period also, Mexican Americans made up 7 percent of the representatives. As of the election of November 1978, there were 17 men and 1 woman elected and serving. Black representatives

¹ Tex. Const. Art. 4, sec. 1, and Art. 4, sec. 21.

² Charles Cotrell, *A Report on the Participation of Mexican Americans, Blacks, and Females in the Major Political Institutions and Processes of Texas, 1968-1978*, p. 15 (prepared under contract for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, San Antonio, Tex.) (hereafter cited as Cotrell, *Report on Political Participation*).

³ Ibid., p. 43.

⁴ Ibid. See also Dallas Morning News, *Texas Almanac* (A.H. Belo Corp.: Dallas) 1967-1968 through 1978-1979 (hereafter cited as *Texas Almanac*).

constituted 4 percent of the House seats during the period 1968–78. As of the election of 1978, there were 3 black women and 11 black men in the Texas State House of Representatives.⁵

Regional analysis reveals that the south and west Texas regions have produced virtually all of the Mexican American representatives between 1968 and 1978. However, the November 1976 election resulted in the selection of a Mexican American from the east Texas region (Jefferson County) and from the Panhandle-High Plains region (Lubbock County).

Black representatives have been elected primarily from two regions during the study period—the east Texas (Harris County) and north Texas (Dallas) regions. However, since 1972, one black has been elected from Bexar County (San Antonio) in the south Texas region and since 1974 a black woman has represented a district in Travis County (Austin) located in the central region.⁶

During the study period, the two branches of the Texas Legislature have been overwhelmingly Anglo male in composition.

Judicial Branch

The judicial branch is discussed in greater detail in the chapter of this study dealing with the administration of justice. Texas elects its judges or justices for two separate supreme courts by statewide ballot. One handles appeals in civil matters (Texas Supreme Court) and the other takes criminal appellate matters (Texas Court of Criminal Appeals). Since Reconstruction, no woman, black, or Mexican American has ever been a member of either court.⁷

No women or minorities were found on either the Texas Court of Criminal Appeals or the Texas Supreme Court during the 1968–78 study period.

Boards and Commissions

While these legislative, executive, and judicial positions are the most visible cornerstones of power in the State, the daily lives of most Texans are more affected by the actions of the numerous boards and commissions. It may even be an understatement to say that boards and commissions dominate the administrative structure of Texas; some would argue

that these agencies actually govern the State. Nevertheless, it is clear that for the most part, boards and commissions operate beyond the public eye in formulating policy and regulating the industries that are the most central to the functioning of Texas.⁸

According to the 1978 *Guide to State Agencies*,⁹ there were 242 agencies, boards, and commissions. The overwhelming majority of these have appointed members but there are a few, such as the State school board and the Railroad Commission which regulates the State's oil and gas industry), that have elected members.

To conform to the 1968–78 study period, 11 of the boards were omitted because they were in existence for only part of the study period. Almost half of the remaining 231 State boards and commissions were exclusively Anglo male. The more important of these included: the Texas Railroad Commission, the Alcohol and Beverage Commission, the State Banking Board, the Commission on Highways and Public Transportation, the Industrial Accident Board, the State Insurance Board, the Real Estate Commission, the Public Utilities Commission, the Commission on Jail Standards, and the Industrial Commission, as well as the Boards of Regents of East Texas State University, North Texas State University, Texas Tech University, and Tyler State College.

More than 59 percent (143) of the 231 boards and commissions were completely dominated by Anglos (men and women) during the entire 1968–78 study period. These included the Texas Credit Union Commission, the Commission for the Blind and the Deaf, the Board of Library Examiners, and the Vocational Nurse Examiners, as well as the Boards of Regents of Midwestern University and West Texas State University.¹⁰

Less than 24 percent (55) of the commissions had male, female, and minority-group members. They included the Board of Directors of Texas A&I University, the Board of Regents of Pan American University (85 percent Mexican American student body), the Board of Texas Southern University (a traditional black college with a virtually all-minority student body), the Board of Pardons and Paroles, the

⁵ Ibid., table 4–4, p. 46.

⁶ Ibid., p. 48.

⁷ See discussion in the chapter on administration of justice.

⁸ Ibid., p. 17. See Fred Ganitt, *The Impact of the Texas Constitution on the Executive* (Houston: Institute of Urban Studies, 1973), chap. 1.

⁹ Ibid. See also *Guide to State Agencies*, 5th ed. (Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs, University of Texas at Austin, 1978), p. 2.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 23–38, based on Dorothy Wells, *Texas State Directory*, 22d ed. (Austin: State of Texas, 1979); see also the 17th–21th editions of this directory.

Board of Mental Health and Mental Retardation, and the Texas Employment Commission.¹¹

Women dominated four boards where there was a traditionally female work force or interest. These were the Board of Regents of Texas Woman's University (a traditional woman's college with a virtually all-female student body); the Texas Board of Nurse Examiners, the Teachers Professional Practices Commission, and the State Textbook Committee.¹²

The overall figures on membership in Texas boards and commissions show Anglo men as the best represented, constituting 86 percent of all board members over the study period. They were followed by Anglo women with 8 percent, minority men with 5 percent, and minority women with less than 1 percent.

With few exceptions the most important and powerful regulatory and administrative agencies are entirely Anglo. Significantly, the overwhelming number of these boards are also entirely male.

Minorities and women tend to be found primarily on certain boards and commissions that are devoted exclusively to issues of concern to women or minorities, women or minority concern.

Congressional Delegation

U.S. Senate

There have been no female or minority persons elected to the United States Senate since statehood (1845).¹³

U.S. House of Representatives

Texas was allowed 23 representatives from 1960 until the 1970 census when this number was increased to 24. Two Mexican Americans from the south Texas region have held their respective seats from the early 1960s to the present. One black has held a seat in Congress since 1972. In the November 1978 election, a black male replaced a black female in the congressional delegation; both were elected from the same seat in Harris County (Houston) in the east Texas region.¹⁴ With these exceptions, the congressional delegation from Texas has been entirely Anglo male.

The statewide elective and appointive offices are characterized by a virtual lack of minority and

female participants. This is true even in the appointive positions that are primarily at the discretion of the Governor.

County Government in Texas

The governmental operations in Texas counties are extremely important to the political and social life of the State. This is especially true in the more rural areas where the county will frequently be the prime provider of services and the largest employer. Even in the more urban areas where this governmental unit would appear to be eclipsed by the major central cities such as Houston, Dallas, San Antonio, and Fort Worth, the county budgets are very impressive. For example, Harris County (Houston) spends almost a quarter of a billion dollars while the Dallas County budget is over \$122 million; the Bexar County (San Antonio) budget is almost \$70 million and the Tarrant County (Fort Worth) budget is over \$50 million.¹⁵

The county is managed by an elected body variously referred to as a county commission or a commissioners court. Four of the members are elected from districts and its presiding officer, called the county judge, is voted on at large.¹⁶ The county judge frequently plays both judicial and administrative roles. On the administrative side, the judge, as a member of the county commission, presides over meetings and frequently votes on questions only in the event of a tie. The position, however, has developed into one that is highly visible and influential.

During the 1968-78 period, 95.5 percent of all county judge positions in Texas have been held by Anglo males, 2.9 percent Mexican American males, and 1.6 percent Anglo females. There were no blacks or Mexican American women. Mexican Americans have been elected only in the southern and western regions.

A similar pattern emerges when the members of the county commission are examined. More than 92.0 percent of these positions have been held by Anglo males; Mexican Americans occupied 5.3 percent, and black males less than 1.0 percent. There were no Hispanic or black females. *It is significant that the first black was not elected to a position on a commissioners court until 1976.* It is also important to

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid., p. 40.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 55, referring to U.S. Department of Commerce, 1977 *Census of Governments*, vol. 4, no. 3, *Finances of County Governments*.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 57.

note that with few exceptions, the only Mexican Americans were in the southern (24.4 percent of the commissioners) and western (6.1 percent of the commissioners) regions. However, considering that the southern and western regions of Texas are 52 percent and 31 percent Mexican American, respectively, these figures demonstrate significant disparity.¹⁷

The apportionment or the way the districts are drawn for the election of county commissioners has been the subject of a great deal of litigation in the past few years. In many counties there had been no change in this apportionment for generations, and in some cases districts had more than two times the population of other districts in the same counties.

County and District Attorneys

The county and district attorney positions are also discussed in more detail in the chapter on the administration of justice. Over 95 percent of each of these elective offices have been held by Anglo males, less than 2 percent by Anglo females, and approximately 3 percent by Mexican Americans. There were no blacks and one Mexican American woman among the county and district attorneys.¹⁸

County and District Clerks

County and district clerks are two of the three county elective positions in which women predominate. Generally, the county clerk is charged with recordkeeping in connection with county functions; the district clerks perform similar duties for the court. In smaller counties, the positions are combined. During 1968-78, women held more than 50 percent of these offices. Mexican American males filled approximately 3 to 4 percent of the clerkships and Mexican American females less than 1 percent. Again, no blacks were in any of these positions.¹⁹

County Treasurer

The treasurer is elected on a countywide basis and is generally charged with the custody of county funds. Almost two-thirds (63.7 percent) of the treasurers in the study period were Anglo women while another 32.5 percent were Anglo men. Mexican American males accounted for almost 3 percent

and Mexican American females for less than 1 percent. There were no blacks in any of these positions.²⁰

Tax Assessor Collector

This elective office is charged with assessing and collecting taxes and usually is also responsible for maintaining voter registration. During 1968-78, 73.6 percent of the tax assessor collectors were Anglo males and 22.8 percent Anglo females. Mexican American males accounted for another 3.1 percent while less than 1 percent were Mexican American females. Again, no black was found in any of these positions.²¹

Sheriff

This position, discussed in more detail in the chapter on the administration of justice, demonstrates the same pattern. During the study period, Anglo males were elected to 96.6 percent of the offices of sheriff and Mexican American males 3.1 percent. There were three Anglo women in this job (less than 1 percent), two from east Texas region (Hopkins and Burleson Counties) and one from the Panhandle-High Plains region (Cochran County).²² One black was elected in 1976 from Stephens County in north Texas.

District Judges

The office of district judge is also discussed in the chapter on the administration of justice. During the study period, over 95 percent were Anglo males, approximately 3.0 percent Mexican American males, and less than 1.0 percent blacks.²³ Significantly, there were no Mexican American women district judges and only one black woman district judge (appointed in December of 1978).²⁴ A second black woman district judge was appointed and took office effective January 1, 1979.²⁵ Anglos occupy from 95 to 98 percent of all county-wide elected positions.

City Government in Texas

The Texas Municipal League listed 1,079 incorporated Texas cities in 1977.²⁶ During the 10-year study period (1968-78), approximately 50,000 mayo-

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 59, fig. 5-2, relying on *Texas Almanac 1968-1978* and Joint Center for Political Studies, *National Roster of Black Elected Officials* (Washington, D.C.: 1967-78), vol. 1-8 (hereafter *Roster of Black Elected Officials* (1-8)).

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 61, fig. 5-3.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 66, fig. 5-5.

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 69-72, fig. 5-8.

²¹ Ibid., pp. 67-70, fig. 5-7.

²² Ibid., pp. 71-74, fig. 5-9.

²³ Ibid., pp. 74-77, fig. 5-64.

²⁴ *Roster of Black Elected Officials*, vol. 8 (1978), p. 215.

²⁵ Texas Judicial Council, *Fiftieth Annual Report* (Austin: State of Texas, 1978), p. 649.

²⁶ Cotrell, *Report on Political Participation*, pp. 84ff.

ral and city council positions came up for election in Texas cities.²⁷

Mayors

Anglo men were 94.4 percent of Texas mayors during 1968-78; 3.1 percent of the mayors were Spanish-surnamed men, with Anglo women 2 percent and blacks and Mexican American women 1 percent.²⁸ The percentage of minority mayors reached a high point in 1976 of 4.7 percent and declined in 1978 to 3.7 percent. Furthermore, only in the southern, eastern, and western regions did the percentage of minority mayors exceed 1 percent. Even in south Texas, which is more than 52 percent Mexican American, only 3.9 percent of the mayors in 1976 were Spanish surnamed, and this minimal representation declined 2 years later in 1978 to only 3.7 percent.²⁹

Female mayors exceeded 5 percent only in the central Texas region. The region with the largest minority female representation was south Texas where less than 1 percent of the mayors were found to be Mexican American women.³⁰

City Council Members

The analysis of all of the persons who served as members of city council from 1968 to 1978 shows an almost identical pattern of underrepresentation for minorities and women. Anglos filled 94.7 percent (89.1 percent men and 5.6 percent women) of all such offices and Mexican American men another 4.2 percent. Hispanic females and blacks represented less than 1 percent of all members of Texas city councils.³¹

Minority representation exceeded 5 percent only in south Texas. Even in that region, where Mexican Americans comprised 52 percent of the population, less than one-third (31.7 percent) of the city council positions were filled by Mexican Americans. In the east Texas region where blacks make up almost one-third of the population, they comprised only 2 percent of the council seats over the 1968-78 period.³²

City Manager

Although the position of city manager is not an elective one, it is, nevertheless, one of the most

important municipal offices in those cities that utilize the council-manager form of government. It is the responsibility of the manager to make the day-to-day operating decisions, which include hiring city employees. The manager also prepares the analysis of facts involving virtually every action that a city council takes. While this person is hired by the council and can be removed by it, council members usually rely heavily on the manager's recommendations.

Ninety-seven percent of the persons who occupied the position of city manager in Texas cities during the study period were Anglo males, 1.1 percent were Anglo females, and 2.2 percent were Mexican American males. There was no adequate methodology available to identify blacks, but it is unlikely that they exceeded 1 percent. Only one Mexican American woman was a city manager.³³

Female representation in Texas city government has steadily grown over the 10-year period. There have been only meager and fluctuating increases in the number of black and Mexican American council persons—even in those regions that have significant concentrations of minority-group members.

Election Structure

People who study politics have long known that election structure has much to do with the lack of success that minorities and poor people have in running for political office.³⁴ There has been much controversy in Texas during the last 10 years over whether at-large elections make it harder for minority and poor people. In many situations courts have found that it does and have ordered State legislators, school board members, and council members elected from single-member districts. It is significant, however, that even today 179 (83.6 percent) of the 214 larger cities in Texas have at-large elections for city council.³⁵ Until litigation was finally successful in 1976, up to one-half of the Texas Legislature was elected from at-large districts. Even today, only 6 of the 1,066 school districts (1 percent) elect their trustees from single-member districts.

Other features of the election system that have been identified as making it more difficult for black and Mexican American candidates are also common to Texas politics. One is the so-called place system

²⁷ Ibid., p. 84.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 86.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid., p. 88, figs. 6-2.

³² Ibid., p. 88.

³³ Ibid., pp. 90-91, figs. 6-17.

³⁴ Ibid., pp. 91-93.

³⁵ Ibid., pp. 91-101.

which requires that candidates file for specific places on the ballot even though they must run for election at large. Some observers have said that Anglos can then decide where to put their strongest people to defeat the minority candidates. Almost three-fourths (156) of the 214 larger cities in Texas use this procedure.³⁶ A large percentage of school board elections are also held under the place system.

Another factor that has been identified as creating problems for minority candidates is the majority or runoff requirement. What frequently happens is that a minority person will file for election and have two or more Anglo opponents. The Anglo vote will then be split in the first election so that even though the minority person will sometimes have the most votes, there must still be a second election between the two highest votegetters. In that second election, the Anglos will usually join forces and defeat the minority candidate. Significantly, 109 (51 percent) of the 214 larger cities in Texas require runoff elections.³⁷ In addition, *all* elections for statewide officials, State legislators, State senators, county officials, and a significant percentage of school trustees involve the run-off requirement.

Party Politics in Texas

General elections take place in November, but the real decisions are frequently made many months earlier by the political parties in their primary elections and conventions. This is especially true in a State such as Texas where there is extreme political polarization. In many Texas counties, a Democratic nomination is an assurance of victory. It is important, therefore, to examine the participation of minority groups and women in party politics.

Historically, minority persons, and especially blacks, were legally excluded from participation in the Democratic Party primary process.³⁸ As a result of many lawsuits, a more open process for minority participation appears to have been developed.

It is significant that while the Democratic Party holds primary elections in all of the State's 254 counties, the Republican Party has never held primaries in more than 178 counties. For example, table 5.1 is a comparison by year from 1968 to 1978

of the participation in Democratic and Republican primaries in Texas. A typical Republican primary brings out less than 150,000 persons, but the Democratic Party primary will involve from 1.5 to 2 million voters.

The status of minority political party participation can probably best be measured by looking at who the delegates to the State and national conventions were. The same study period (1968-78) was used.

Presidential Conventions

In 1968 and again in 1972, the selection of delegates to the national convention was governed by State law that required them to be chosen at the State conventions meeting in June.³⁹ In 1976 the law was changed to require (for only that presidential election) that at least 75 percent of the voting delegates be chosen from State senatorial districts in a presidential primary election.⁴⁰ The balance of the delegates would be selected by the State convention.⁴¹

While the State law determined the way in which the delegates to the national convention were to be chosen, the Democratic and Republican Parties themselves adopted rules governing who would be selected. The two political organizations took differing affirmative action to encourage the participation of women and minorities.

Democratic Party

The 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago was marked by "open combat" that seemed to center around the issue of whether delegates fairly represented the people.⁴² To remedy this problem, the convention took several steps, probably the most important of which was to require that delegations to the 1972 national convention had to include women, young people, and minority-group members "in reasonable relation to the groups' presence in the population of the state." This "in reasonable relation" standard became known as the McGovern Rule and was used by the Texas State Democratic party in 1972 in the selection of delegates to the State and national convention. This is the *only* situation in the 1968-78 period when

³⁶ Ibid., p. 94, relying on Roy E. Young, *The Place System in Texas Elections* (Austin: Institute of Public Affairs, University of Texas, 1965); Clifton McClesky et al., *The Government and Politics of Texas*, 6th ed. (Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown and Company, 1978), p. 273.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 116. See also George Korb, *Testimony Before the Subcommittee on the Judiciary, Hearings on the Extension of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (as amended)*, U.S. Senate, Apr. 22, 1975, esp. pp. 466-78.

³⁹ Cotrell, *Report on Political Participation*, p. 117, citing Vernon's Annotated Texas Election Code, Art. 13.58(a) (1968-69 and 1972-73).

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid., pp. 117-18, relying on Joint Center for Political Studies, *Guide to Black Politics, 1976*, pt. 1, Democratic National Convention (Washington, D.C.: 1976), p. 10, and James M. Burns and Jack W. Peltason, *Government By The People*, 9th ed. rev. (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1975), pp. 344-45.

Table 5.1

Voter Comparison 1968-78 for Governor (Democratic and Republican Candidates)

First Primary			Run-off		General Election		
			Total Votes	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.
1968	Eggers against Tice and Sisk	104,766	Smith 767,490 Yarborough 821,206 Total 1,388,716		None Held	Smith 1,822,019	Eggers 1,254,333
1970	Eggers against Smith	100,021	None Held		None Held	Smith 1,232,506	Eggers 1,073,831
1972	Grover against Fay and 4 others	114,700	Briscoe 1,095,168 Farenthold 867,594 Total 1,979,762		Grover 37,842 Fay 19,166 Total 57,008	Briscoe 1,633,493	Grover 1,633,986
1974	Granberry against Odell McDermott	89,101	None Held		None Held	Briscoe 1,016,334	Granberry 514,725
1976	Stallman against Greene and Latham	356,307	None Held		None Held	Bentzen 2,199,956	Stallman 1,636,370
1978	Clements against Hutchinson and one other	185,405	None Held		None Held	Hill 1,186,979	Clements 1,183,639

Source: Memorandum from State Rep. Ben T. Reyes to minority legislators dated February 22, 1977, based on information provided by the Texas Secretary of State.

"quotas" were used in county, State, and national convention delegate selection.

In 1968, 4.2 percent of the Texas delegates to the Democratic National Convention were Spanish surnamed and 4.1 percent were black. After the introduction of the "in reasonable relation" quota for the 1972 national convention, Spanish-surnamed representation increased by more than three times to 14.8 percent of the delegates.⁴³ At the same time black representation more than doubled (10.8 percent). Female delegates to the Democratic national convention showed similar increases. In 1968 women made up 13.4 percent of the delegation and in 1972 they were 27.3 percent. Mexican American and black female delegates increased from none in 1968 to 4.1 percent and 1.7 percent, respectively, in 1972.

After 1972 the quotas themselves were eliminated, but the affirmative action language was maintained. The new standard urged that minorities be named as convention delegates "in proportion to their numbers in the State's Democratic electorate."⁴⁴ However, the burden of proving a violation of the standard was changed. In 1972, if a State delegation did not meet the standard, then the delegation had to have an acceptable explanation. After 1972, however, those who would try to challenge the seating of delegates were required to prove that the racial mix of the delegation was not in proportion to their numbers in the State Democratic electorate. In other words, the rule stayed the same, but the enforcement procedure that existed for 1972 was eliminated. Significantly, Spanish-surnamed delegates to the 1976 Democratic National Convention comprised only 8.4 percent of the delegation (down from 10.7 percent in 1972) and black delegate representation declined to about the same level, but minority female representation doubled. Stated another way, while Mexican American and black women delegates increased as a percentage of the delegation, minority male delegates decreased.⁴⁵

A similar pattern of increase and decline was played out at State Democratic conventions between 1968 and 1978.⁴⁶ Mexican Americans made up 2.4 percent of the State convention delegates in 1968, virtually all of whom were male. In 1970 they increased to 5 percent (4 percent male and 1 percent

female). However, in 1972 the Hispanic representation went up to 8.9 percent (2.4 percent female and 6.5 percent male). In 1974 Mexican American participation declined slightly to 8.1 percent (2.2 percent female and 5.9 percent male), increased in 1976 to 9 percent (2.8 percent female and 6.2 percent male), and increased slightly again in 1978 to 9.8 percent (3.3 percent female and 6.5 percent male). During the same period, however, female representation at the State Democratic conventions increased markedly from 26.4 percent in 1968 to 29.1 percent in 1970 to 30.4 percent in 1976 and 33.4 percent in 1978. The quota set by the Democratic Party for women as one-third of delegates was finally met in 1978.

The study of black participation at the State Democratic conventions is based on a sampling technique.⁴⁷ It is projected that 2.1 percent of the 1968 Democratic State convention delegates were black. This rose to 2.6 percent in 1970, 9.2 percent in 1972, 10.4 percent in 1974, 11.5 percent in 1976, and then declined to 9.1 percent in 1978.

Blacks and Mexican Americans are in about the same position with relation to participation in Democratic Party conventions as they were in 1972. In effect, they make up approximately 10 percent each of the conventions. This is especially significant in light of the fact that together they comprise just less than one-third of the State population and that approximately 90 percent identify themselves as Democrats.⁴⁸ In short, the standard patterns of underrepresentation of minorities and women are found in Democratic Party politics.

Republican Party

The Republican Party took an even less affirmative approach to increasing minority participation. During its 1972 national convention, the party adopted a rule forbidding discrimination on the basis of age, sex, race, and national origin and called for State party organizations to work to implement nondiscriminatory procedures.⁴⁹

During 1973 and 1974, the State Republican Party held hearings throughout Texas to determine how to implement these policies. The general consensus opposed any sort of quota. Rather, the party decided

⁴³ Ibid., pp. 119-21, fig. 9-1.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 122-24, fig. 9-2.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 125, see especially n. 18, p. 139.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 126, relying on Clifton McCleskey and Bruce Merrill, "Mexican

American Political Behavior in Texas," *Social Science Quarterly*, vol. 53, no. 4 (March 1973), pp. 785-93.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 127, relying on William J. Crotty, *Political Reform and the American Experiment* (New York: Thomas V. Crowell Company, 1977), pp. 257ff.

to "encourage" widespread participation by all people in the Republican Party.⁵⁰ There were no black delegates from Texas to any of the three national conventions (1968, 1972, and 1976).

Although the number of Mexican American delegates has increased slightly, they have *actually declined in terms of percentage from 3.6 percent in 1968 to 2.0 percent in 1976*. In comparison, female delegate participation (also "encouraged" by the Republican Party) increased from 26.7 percent in 1968 to 32.7 percent in 1972 and 33.0 percent in 1976.⁵¹

Mexican American delegates have ranged from 2.0 percent of the State Republican convention in 1968 to 2.1 percent in 1970, 3.2 percent in 1972, to a low of 1.1 percent in 1974, and 2.7 percent in 1976 and down to 1.7 percent in 1978. Overall, Mexican American participation in Republican State conventions showed the same moderate decline found in national Republican convention participation.⁵²

The number of black delegates to the Republican State conventions has been about 2 percent of each convention with slight increases in the more recent ones.⁵³ Anglo female representation, however, has increased from slightly over one-third of the convention in 1968 to 38.2 percent in 1978.⁵⁴

State Executive Committees

Both parties have 62-member State executive committees that are composed of 1 male and 1 female from each of the 31 State senate districts.⁵⁵

Mexican American membership on the Democratic State executive committee ranged from a low of 3.2 percent in 1968 to a high of 13.0 percent in 1978. Generally, Hispanic men outnumbered Hispanic women two to one. Black participation on the Democratic State executive committee, on the other

hand, averaged approximately 5 percent for the period. Again, black men outnumbered black women two to one.

Since 1972 a black woman has served as vice chairperson of the Democratic Party and since 1976 Mexican American males have been treasurers.

During the 1968-78 study period, no Spanish-surnamed females or blacks (of either gender) were found on the Republican State executive committee, and only two Mexican American males (0.5 percent) were so identified.⁵⁶ There have been no minority persons in the chair or vice chair positions of the Republican Party during the 1968-78 study period.

While both political parties appear to have no rules or practices that prohibit minority participation, neither has been particularly successful in efforts to bring Mexican Americans and blacks into their proceedings. The progress made in the Democratic Party appears to be related directly to the vigor with which their policy of affirmative action has been enforced. It is significant that minority females do not fare as poorly compared to minority males in convention participation as they do in elective positions. One explanation may be that when attention is paid to affirmative action, minority females count twice—once as a woman and once as a minority.

Overall, female representation at party conventions appears to have increased more significantly. The State Democratic Party has reached its quota of one-third female convention delegates. While the Republican Party does not appear to have a stated quota, as such, it has come into the same range as far as women are concerned. It would seem, however, that the goal of one-third is far too modest given the fact that women comprise over half of the State population.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 127-29, fig. 9-3.

⁵² Ibid., pp. 130-31, fig. 9-4.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 132.

⁵⁶ Ibid., pp. 133-37, fig. 9-6.

6. San Antonio: A Case Study

San Antonio is the tenth largest city in the country and boasts a population of close to 1 million inhabitants.¹ It is located 150 miles from the Mexican border and is considered a unique city primarily because of the influence of the Mexican culture. San Antonio is triracial in that three major racial/ethnic groups claim this city as their home: Mexican Americans, blacks, and Anglos. In 1978 minorities were approximately 62 percent of the city's total population; of these, blacks and other minorities represented about 9 percent and Mexican Americans nearly 53 percent.²

As of 1978, more than 98 percent of the minority population in the metropolitan area lived within the municipal boundaries of San Antonio. Within the city limits, minorities tended to be heavily concentrated in certain areas. This pattern has changed little since 1968 and has important consequences for minorities. For example, most of the new jobs in San Antonio over the past 10 years have been developed outside the central city, as have virtually all new housing and business construction.³

Because San Antonio was the site for the 1968 Commission on Civil Rights hearing, the city was selected for closer study to determine what patterns, if any, were evident in the area of employment opportunities for minorities and women. The case study was designed to focus on employment in the public sector: city of San Antonio, Bexar County, State employees in San Antonio, and Federal employees in San Antonio, as well as in certain

significant areas of the private sector: banks, hospitals, broadcasting, and colleges and universities.

The purpose of the study was to do a comparison of employment figures for certain key years, beginning in 1968 and ending with 1978, to measure the progress, if any, that had been made in the 10-year interval. This was not always possible because the information was not kept by the various institutions in all cases for the entire 10-year period. In each case the earliest data available were used for comparison purposes. Therefore, the beginning year for analysis of each section may vary.

The second and perhaps the greater problem was that some of the institutions from which Commission staff requested information refused to provide it voluntarily, even though some agencies, such as the Bexar County Hospital District, appeared to be under legal obligation to disclose the information. Several banks also refused to submit their employment statistics voluntarily. These included Alamo National Bank, Bexar County National Bank, Broadway National Bank, Frost National, and National Bank of Commerce.

Private Sector

In 1968 the San Antonio work force was comprised of 55 percent Anglos, 6 percent blacks, and 39 percent Mexican Americans. By 1978 these figures

¹ City of San Antonio, Community Development Office, Comprehensive Planning Division, *A Report on Population: San Antonio and Bexar County* (May 1973), pp. 10-11.

² City of San Antonio, Department of Planning, *Racial/Ethnic Composition—1978, Population: San Antonio and Bexar County* (Apr. 10, 1979.)

³ City of San Antonio, Department of Planning, *Economic Analysis: San Antonio* (November 1972), p. 20.

had shifted to 52 percent Anglos, 7 percent blacks, and 41 percent Mexican Americans.⁴

Banks

Testimony presented at the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights hearings in 1968 indicated that minorities were severely underrepresented in the banking industry.⁵ At that time, Commission staff had conducted a survey of 15 banks in San Antonio to determine the composition of their employment. The 15 banks studied had 2,144 employees, with only 398 (about 19 percent) classified as minorities. Mexican Americans constituted about 16.2 percent of the work force and blacks only 2.3 percent. Only 21 Mexican Americans and 2 blacks were listed in the official/manager job category. Most were concentrated in the office and clerical category. Only 6 of the 15 banks had significant minority work forces.⁶ Women, on the other hand, constituted almost two-thirds of the total employment. However, nearly 95 percent were concentrated in the office and clerical job category and only about 3 percent were listed as officials or managers.⁷

Ten years later in 1978 minorities and women were still largely excluded from the top level positions. Women were mainly concentrated in the clerical or office jobs, although they made up about 65 percent of the work force. Minorities comprised about 35 percent of the total work force.⁸

Approximately 8 percent of all Mexican Americans, about 10 percent of all blacks, and 10 percent of all women in this industry were employed as officials and managers. In contrast, nearly 22 percent of the total work force, 43 percent of all males, and 29 percent of all Anglos working in this industry were classified as officials.⁹ This pattern generally reflects the conditions found in 1968.

One of the largest banks in San Antonio, the National Bank of Commerce (NBC), was one of several that refused to provide the Commission with current employment data. However, statistics for this institution for 1975 were obtained from the

Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF).

In 1968 NBC employed a total of 387 persons of whom only 28 (7.2 percent) were Mexican American and 6 (1.6 percent) were black. The employment statistics show that out of 60 officials, 95 percent were Anglos, 5 percent Mexican Americans, and there were no blacks.

In 1975 NBC employed 567 persons, of whom 148 (26.1 percent) were Mexican American and 13 (2.3 percent) were black. The percentage of Anglos managers in 1975 remained at over 91 percent, while Mexican Americans improved from only 7.2 percent to 8.4 percent. Still no blacks were employed as managers. The composition of the clerical staff in 1975 was 66.9 percent Anglos, 29.8 percent Mexican American, and 2.8 percent black.¹⁰

The 1975 MALDEF data also show that the following San Antonio banks had less than 10 percent minority representation in the category of officials and managers: Bexar County Bank (4.5 percent); Broadway National Bank (2.9 percent); Citizens National Bank (0.0 percent); Gross National Bank (0.0 percent); Highland Park State (Texas Commerce Bank) (8.3 percent); Jefferson State Bank (0.0 percent); National Bank of Commerce (8.4 percent); and Union State Bank (7.7 percent). (See figure 6.1.)

Overall, Anglos comprised nearly 88 percent of all bank officials and managers in 1975.¹¹ While some limited progress had been made, women and minorities continued to be concentrated in the lower occupational positions.

Based on the data available, it must be concluded that:

Minorities are largely excluded from the top level jobs in the San Antonio banking industry. They rarely serve as officials and managers, the positions where major financial decisions are made.

Any further update of this information will depend upon the future cooperation of the banking industry in San Antonio.

⁴ Texas Employment Commission, *San Antonio Labor Force Estimates 1968-1978*.

⁵ U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Hearing Before the United States Commission on Civil Rights, Hearing Held in San Antonio, Texas, December 9-14, 1968, Transcript of Proceedings*, pp. 571-83 (hereafter cited as *San Antonio Transcript*).

⁶ Ibid., "Staff Report on Employment," Exhibit 31, pp. 1048-59.

⁷ U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, *Equal Employment Opportunity Report—1967, Minority Group Employment by Occupation and Sex for Selected Industries and Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas* (1967), p. 721.

⁸ U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, *Employment Analysis Report—1978, EEO-1 Report, Summary by SMSA/SIC—San Antonio, TX*, p. 674.

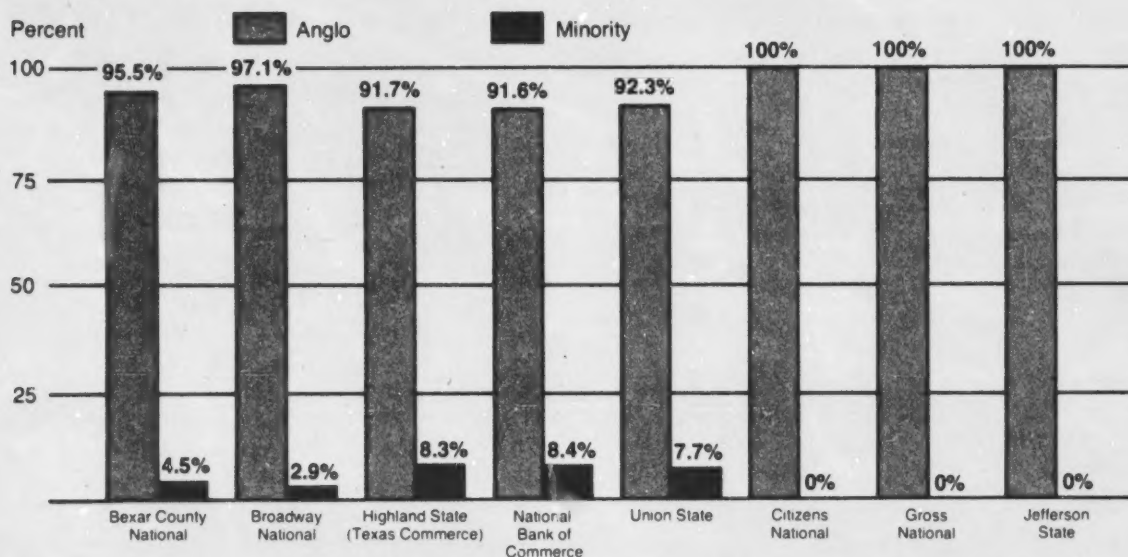
⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Data for 1975 were obtained from the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF). MALDEF, in turn, acquired NBC's EEO-4 report from the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs.

¹¹ Ibid.

Figure 6.1

Employment of Officials and Managers in Selected San Antonio Banks



Analysis: 8 major banks in San Antonio employed less than 10 percent minorities in the capacity of officials and managers in 1975.

Source: Data were obtained from the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF). MALDEF in turn acquired NBC's EEO-1 report from the Office of Federal Contract Compliance.

Hospitals

In San Antonio there are 21 hospitals employing nearly 15,000 people. This industry is unique in that many of these jobs are held by minorities and women. At the 1968 hearing, there was limited testimony involving only the Bexar County Hospital District. However, data are available which indicate that in 1973, slightly over 12,500 people were employed in 19 hospitals throughout the metropolitan area. Of that total, 5,368 (42.9 percent) were Anglos, 2,090 (16.7 percent) were blacks, and 4,909 (39.2 percent) were Mexican Americans. Women were nearly 72 percent of this work force.¹³

Anglos held most of the administrative and professional jobs while minorities were mainly located in the technician, operative, laborer, and service categories. Women, on the other hand, held most of the

jobs in every category except two: craft workers and laborers. Overall, women constituted slightly over half of all employees in the official/manager category, and more than 76 percent of all employees in the professional and technician job areas. Women also comprised most of the work force in the office and clerical and service worker categories.¹³

The highest proportion of Anglos was in the professional job area. Blacks, on the other hand, were mainly employed as technicians (33.4 percent) and service workers (45.2 percent). Mexican Americans were also heavily employed in these two job categories.¹⁴

A 1973 sample by the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) of 17 hospitals (13 private and 4 public) showed a total employment of 12,905, of whom 39 percent were Anglos, 44

¹³ U.S., Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, *Equal Employment Opportunity Report—1973, Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in Private Industry—Vol. 8*, table 2, Occupational Employment Patterns in Selected SMSA's by Industry, Minority Group, and Sex—1973, San Antonio, p. 353, Hospitals SIC—806.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

percent were Mexican American, and 16 percent were black. The same pattern persisted in 1978 in that although minorities were employed in significant numbers, they did not hold the top level positions. Anglos occupied most of the administrative positions while minorities held most of the blue-collar, technical, and clerical positions.¹⁵

The Bexar County Hospital District includes two major hospitals and serves most of the low-income people in San Antonio. Testimony at the 1968 hearing indicated that this district employed 1,362 persons, of whom approximately 18 percent were black and 45 percent were Mexican American. About 25 percent of the managers were minority-group members.¹⁶ As previously noted the Hospital District refused to provide the Commission with updated statistics.

The data for 1978 also reveal that the white-collar employment at three major private San Antonio hospitals was predominantly Anglos: Methodist (65.9 percent), St. Luke's Lutheran (77.8 percent), and San Antonio community (66.7 percent).¹⁷

Minorities and women hold many jobs in San Antonio Hospitals. Minorities are employed mainly in technician, office and clerical, blue-collar, and service-related positions while Anglos dominate the decisionmaking roles.

Broadcasting

In 1971, 483 persons were employed in 16 local radio stations: 80 percent were Anglos, 3 percent were black, and nearly 17 percent were Mexican American. Women constituted only about 22 percent of the work force.¹⁸

There appeared to be a traditional placement pattern in 1971, with women holding 89 percent of all clerical jobs and minorities mainly concentrated in the operative and service worker areas. Anglo men occupied most of the positions at the top levels.¹⁹

Seven years later in 1978 there was some limited progress. Of 640 persons employed in the broadcasting industry in San Antonio, 61 percent were

Anglos, 5 percent were blacks, and 34 percent were Mexican Americans. (See figure 6.2.) Women accounted for 29 percent of the employment. In 1978 over 77 percent of the officials and managers were Anglos as compared to 16 percent Mexican American and 6 percent black. Women represented only 23 percent of employees in this category. This same pattern is evident in the other higher paying positions such as professionals, where Anglos held 60 percent of the positions.²⁰

In the broadcasting industry, minorities and women have made some progress over the past 10 years in San Antonio. However, there are still disparities in the industry. Minorities and women are still largely excluded from the major decisionmaking levels in the industry. Anglos occupy most of the official/manager and administrative positions. Furthermore, minorities and women are still concentrated in the lower salary levels.

Colleges and Universities

San Antonio has 10 colleges and universities located within its city limits. These public and private institutions of higher learning enroll more than 47,000 students. Degrees offered range from a 2-year associate degree to a doctorate. For purposes of this study, seven major institutions were selected: Incarnate Word College, Our Lady of the Lake University, San Antonio College, St. Philip's College, St. Mary's University, Trinity University, and the University of Texas at San Antonio.

In 1972, 88 percent of the faculty positions were held by Anglos as compared to 83 percent in 1978. Of the administrative positions, 84 percent were held by Anglos in 1972; this decreased slightly to 81 percent in 1978. Women made up 36 percent of the faculty positions in 1972 and 32 percent in 1978. In the area of administration, women held 37 percent of these positions in 1972 and only 19 percent in 1978.²¹ Minorities made only modest progress in total employment as well as in the policymaking or teaching positions.

¹⁵ U.S., Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, *Employment Analysis Report—1978, EEO-1 Report, Summary by SMSA/SIC, San Antonio, TX*. Also EEO-4 *State and Local Government Information* (data compiled for Bexar County Hospital District, San Antonio Chest Hospital, and San Antonio State Tuberculosis Hospital).

¹⁶ *San Antonio Transcript*, p. 293.

¹⁷ EEO-1 Forms. Forms provided by the institutions.

¹⁸ U.S., Federal Communications Commission, *Annual Employment Report: 1971*, FCC Form 395. Also, Federal Communications Commission, *Broadcast Bureau, Employment in the Broadcasting Industry* (1977). San Antonio Market Area, pp. 715-720.

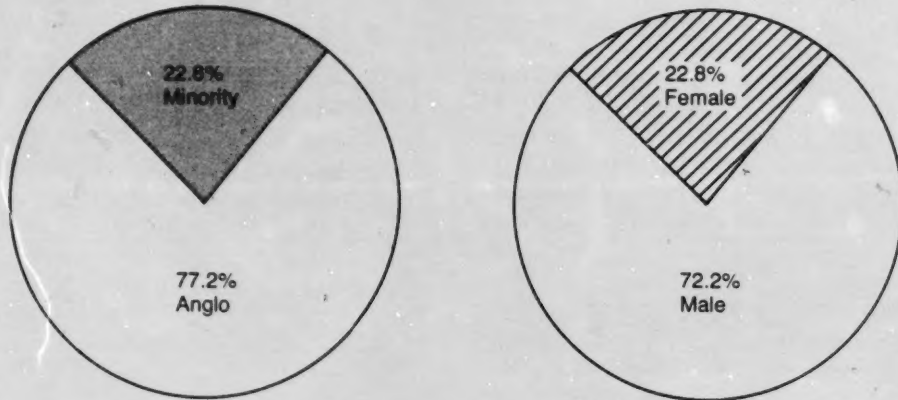
¹⁹ U.S., Federal Communications Commission, *Annual Employment Report: 1978*, FCC Form 395, and *Employment in the Broadcasting Industry*.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, Southwestern Regional Office, "Enrollment and Employment in Institutions of Higher Education in San Antonio, Texas: An Institutional Profile—Staff Report" (unpublished) (May 1976). Data for 1978 aggregated from separate EEO-6 Higher Education Staff Information Reports provided by each of the institutions.

Figure 6.2

Employment of Officials and Managers in the Broadcasting Industry, San Antonio: 1978

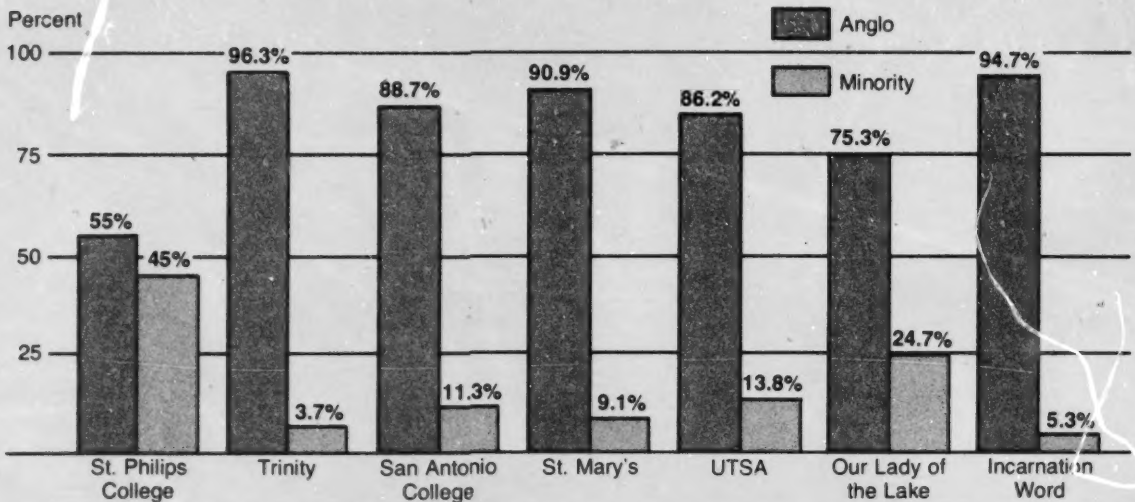


Analysis: Almost three out of four officials and managers working in the San Antonio broadcasting industry in 1978 were Anglos and an identical percentage were male.

Source: U.S. Federal Communications Commission, Annual Employment Report: 1978, FCC Form 395.

Figure 6.3

Faculty Composition in Selected San Antonio Colleges and Universities, 1978



Analysis: With the exception of St. Philips College, all major San Antonio colleges and universities have faculties composed almost entirely of Anglos.

Source: Data for 1978 were obtained from separate EEO-6 Higher Education Staff Information Reports provided by each of the institutions.

Statistics for 1978 for faculty employment at individual colleges and universities demonstrate a concentration of Anglos. Six of the seven institutions studied had a faculty at least 75 percent nonminority: Trinity, 96.3 percent; Incarnate Word, 94.7 percent; St. Mary's, 90.9 percent; San Antonio College, 88.7 percent; University of Texas at San Antonio (UTSA), 86.2 percent; and Our Lady of the Lake, 75.3 percent. Only St. Philips, a junior college with a predominantly minority student body, had more than a 25 percent minority faculty.

Additionally, three institutions had a faculty composed of at least 75 percent males: St. Mary's, 86.9 percent; Trinity, 83.6, and UTSA, 76.8.²² (See figure 6.3.)

It is evident from the data that minorities and women have made modest progress in employment opportunities in San Antonio higher education.

Minorities and women are concentrated mainly in the lower paying jobs. They constitute only a small proportion of the executives, administrators, and managers in the various institutions, and are a small portion of the faculty in these institutions. This situation is aggravated by the fact that minimal change in these patterns has occurred over the years.

Public Sector: Government Is Big Business in San Antonio

The economic well-being of San Antonio is dependent to a great extent on the governmental employers. Government in the San Antonio metropolitan area is a major employer. Moreover, the importance of the public sector as an employer has become even greater over the years. For example, in 1968 various governmental units in the San Antonio area employed more than 70,000 people.²³ Ten years later the public sector employed in excess of 87,000 people—almost one-fourth of the total employed work force.²⁴ With respect to economic effect, civil government employees earned more than 30 percent of the total earnings in the San Antonio metropolitan area in 1972. By 1978 this proportion had increased to nearly 40 percent.²⁵

²² Ibid.

²³ Texas Employment Commission, *Annual Manpower Planning Report, San Antonio, Texas, First Quarter, 1969, Labor Area Work Force Data* (1969).

²⁴ Texas Employment Commission, *San Antonio Labor Market Review*, vol. 34, no. 10, October 1978.

²⁵ Alamo Area Council of Governments, *Bexar County Profile* (May 1978), p. 6.

San Antonio has the council-manager type of governing body. The city council since 1977 has been elected by districts and each member must reside in the district that he or she represents. Prior to the adoption of districts, all members of the council were elected at large. The council hires a manager who is responsible for the employment of all subordinate city employees. The philosophy and commitment of the city manager to equal employment opportunity has a marked influence on the employment picture of the city. He or she is the one who must be held accountable next only to the city council, which has the authority to hire and fire the city manager.

Municipal Employment: City of San Antonio

At the 1968 hearing, then Mayor Walter McAllister told the Commissioners, "The city of San Antonio has led the way in elimination of discrimination against individuals or groups by reason of race, creed, color, or national origin."²⁶ The first complete employment statistics available to the Commission were those for 1973.²⁷ In that year, there were 5,469 city employees. Of these, 40 percent were Anglos, 52 percent were Mexican American, and 8 percent were black. Of the top administrative positions in the city, however, 67 percent were held by Anglos while Mexican Americans held 28 percent and blacks less than 4 percent. There was only one woman administrator in 1973.

On the other hand, in the service maintenance area, only 6 percent were Anglos as compared to a substantial 83 percent Mexican American and 11 percent black. Fifty-four percent of the female work force was in the office and clerical category. (See figure 6.4.)

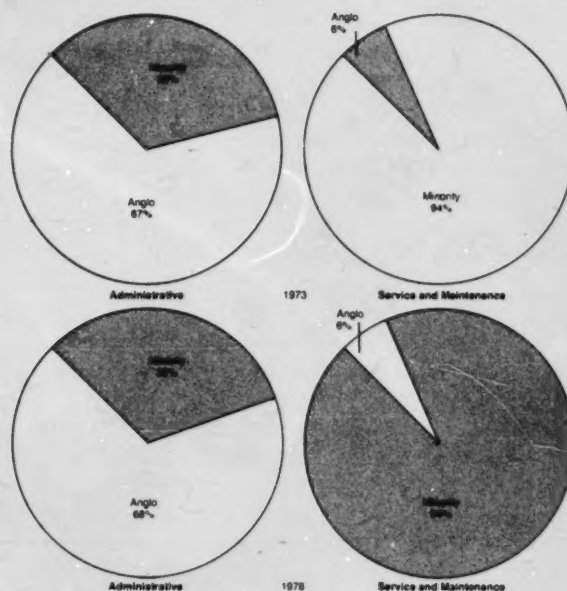
Five years later there were no dramatic changes.²⁸ By 1978 Anglo administrators were 68 percent and black administrators had increased from 4 percent to 6 percent. But Mexican American administrators actually declined two percentage points. In the service maintenance area, Mexican American representation declined from 83 percent to 77 percent,

²⁶ *San Antonio Transcript*, p. 287.

²⁷ U.S., Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, *State and Local Government Information EEO-4* (November 1973). Data provided by the city of San Antonio.

²⁸ U.S., Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, *State and Local Government Information EEO-4* (March 1979). Data provided by the city of San Antonio.

Figure 6.4
City Employment in San Antonio, 1973 and 1978



Analysis: In 1973, Anglos dominated administrative positions, while minorities were concentrated in service and maintenance jobs. Five years later this pattern remained unchanged.

Source: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, *State and Local Government Information-EEO-4* (November 1978). Provided by the City of San Antonio. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, *State and Local Government Information-EEO-4* (March 1979). Provided by the City of San Antonio.

while blacks increased their share of these jobs from 11 percent in 1973 to 17 percent in 1978.

Women were also underrepresented in several major city departments in San Antonio. They comprised less than 20 percent of the work force in the following agencies in 1978: Convention Facilities and Hemisfair Plaza (16 percent), Parks and Recreation (16 percent), Police (12 percent), Traffic and Transportation (7 percent), Purchasing (6 percent), Public Works (5 percent), and Fire (2 percent).²⁹

In municipal employment, the data indicate that while the number and proportion of minorities has increased since 1968, they continue to be concentrated mainly in the lower paying, less skilled job areas. With respect to women, they are not only underrepresented on the city's work force, but as is the case with minorities, they are also concentrated in certain jobs and underrepresented in others. Additionally,

²⁹ Ibid.

the proportion of Mexican Americans in top administrative positions has actually declined.

Public Utilities in San Antonio: Water Board and the City Public Service Board (CPSB)

There are two public utilities in San Antonio: the City Water Board and the City Public Service Board. The City Water Board is responsible for operating and maintaining the city's water system and providing water to those persons living within its jurisdictional boundaries. The water board is managed by a board of trustees appointed by the city council and a general manager who is appointed by the board to administer this utility.

The water board employed 670 persons in 1973, of whom 40 percent were Anglos, 8 percent were black, and 52 percent were Mexican American; only 15 percent of the work force was female. In 1973 the

basic pattern clearly showed the concentration of Anglos in the managerial and technical job categories with a large proportion of minorities in the laborer job category. Almost half (49.4 percent) of all minorities employed with the water board in 1973 were working as laborers. Additionally, there was a heavy concentration of female employees in the clerical positions.³⁰

By 1978 the overall patterns had changed very little. As late as 1978, only 3 percent of all Mexican Americans and 4 percent of all blacks were employed as managers, while 19 percent of all Anglos were in these positions. In 1978, 40 percent of the minorities were still employed as laborers as compared with only 9 percent of their Anglos counterparts. Female employment had also increased to only 18 percent, and nearly 74 percent of all female employees³¹ were in office-related jobs.

The City Public Service Board (CPSB) is responsible for providing gas and electric service. CPSB is administered by a board of trustees who hire a manager to direct its operations.

In 1973 this utility employed 2,803 persons, of whom 62 percent were Anglos, 2 percent black, 36 percent Mexican American, and 7 percent female. In 1973 nearly 9 percent of all Anglos employees were managers as compared to less than 1 percent of the minorities. Minorities held nearly 83 percent of all the unskilled, semiskilled, and service jobs. Females were concentrated in clerical positions.³²

Five years later in 1978 there was only a slight increase in employment. The pattern demonstrated in 1973 remained relatively unchanged. The proportion of Anglos serving as administrators increased to 10 percent while the percentage of minority employees working as laborers, operatives, and service workers decreased to 71 percent. Female employment was still a meager 9.4 percent.³³ (See figures 6.5 and 6.6.)

The pattern that emerges is:

1. The employment figures for 1973 and 1978 for the water board and the CPSB have remained stable.

2. Most Anglos are employed in the higher paying jobs.
3. Mexican Americans are severely concentrated in the semiskilled and laborer jobs.
4. Few blacks are employed by these utilities.
5. Women are severely underrepresented and concentrated in office and clerical positions.

County Employment: Bexar County

The city of San Antonio is the largest in Bexar County and forms the nucleus of the metropolitan area comprised of Bexar, Guadalupe, and Comal Counties.

In 1968 Bexar County had a total population of slightly over 800,000. The Anglos population was about 48 percent of the total. Minorities, on the other hand, constituted nearly 52 percent of the county's population. By 1978 the population in the county had increased to nearly 936,000, with the minority population increasing to 58 percent of the total county population.³⁴

Within the county structure the governing body is the commissioners court, which is made up of four commissioners, one from each of the four precincts in the county, and a county judge who is elected at large.³⁵ The county structure is unique in that, although the commissioners court funds each of the county departments, it has little control over their operation and administration. Each department is, however, required to designate an equal employment opportunity officer and to maintain an affirmative action plan for the department. There is no countywide affirmative action plan, although the commissioners court has designated an equal employment opportunity officer to handle discrimination complaints. The officer may not initiate an investigation of a particular department without the consent of the department's administration.³⁶

The county is a large employer, with almost 2,000 employees. In 1973 the county employed slightly over 1,200. Of that total, 66 percent were males and 34 percent were females. The work force at that

³⁰ U.S., Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEO-1 Report, City Water Board (April 1973). Data provided by the City Water Board.

³¹ Ibid. EEO-1 Report (May 1978).

³² U.S., Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEO-1 Report, City Public Service Board (April 1973). Data provided by the City Public Service Board.

³³ Ibid. EEO-1 Report (April 1978).

³⁴ City of San Antonio, Planning and Community Development Department, Comprehensive Planning Division, *A Report on Population: San*

Antonio and Bexar County (May 1975); City of San Antonio, Department of Planning, *Racial/Ethnic Composition 1978 Population—San Antonio and Bexar County* (Apr. 10, 1979).

³⁵ League of Women Voters, *Local Government Handbook A Guide to Local Government in the San Antonio Metropolitan Area* (San Antonio 1977), pp. 20-21.

³⁶ Antonio Z. Vasquez, Bexar County Equal Employment Opportunity Officer, interview, J 1979.

Figure 6.5

City Water Board and City Public Service Board, Distribution by Selected Job Categories

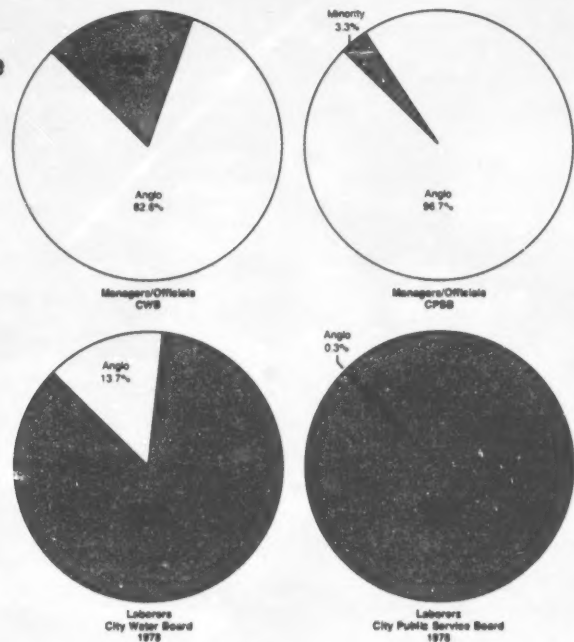


Figure 6.6

Employment in San Antonio Public Utilities by Sex, 1973 and 1978



Analysis: Females were severely underrepresented in the employment of public utilities in San Antonio in 1973. This situation remained virtually unchanged five years later.

Source: EEO-1 Reports for 1973 and 1978 provided by City Water Board and City Public Service Board.

time was almost evenly divided between Anglos and minorities.³⁷

From 1973 to 1978 total county employment increased to 1,800, with minority employment increasing to 58 percent; women constituted 40 percent of the work force.³⁸

The earliest figures available for comparing employment of women and minorities in the system are for 1974. In that year it appears that, although minorities constituted most of the county's work force, they were mainly concentrated in three job areas: protective services, clerical, and maintenance. In 1974 about 77 percent of all minorities employed by the county were in these job categories. In comparison, only 58 percent of the Anglos were employed in these jobs. By 1978 the proportion of minorities in these jobs increased to 80 percent.³⁹ (See figures 6.7 and 6.8.)

In contrast, Anglos held most of the jobs in the official/administrative, professional, and technician categories. In 1978 nearly 34 percent of all Anglos employed by the county were in these three job areas. In comparison, only about 16 percent of the minority work force were employed in these jobs. More specifically, Anglos constituted 83 percent of all the officials/administrators, 65 percent of the professionals, and 52 percent of all the technicians.⁴⁰

Women did not fare much better in 1978 as more than 80 percent of all females employed by Bexar County were working in office and clerical positions. Of the 722 women employed by the county, 589 were in office work. In contrast, only one woman was employed in an administrative position during this time.⁴¹

The pattern that becomes evident as regards the employment practices of Bexar County is that:

While minorities and women are employed in substantial numbers, they are heavily concentrated in the lower paying, less skilled jobs. This concentration has increased since 1973.

State Employment in San Antonio

Because San Antonio is one of the largest cities in Texas, many State agencies have offices there. In

1973, for example, 25 State agencies employed more than 4,100 persons in San Antonio.⁴² Of these, 41 percent were minorities and about half were women. Five years later in 1978, there was a modest increase in employment bringing the total figure to 4,500. Minorities increased their representation to 50 percent and women to 51 percent of total employment.⁴³

In comparing the makeup of the highest paid positions, in 1974 blacks made up 6 percent, Mexican Americans 14 percent, and women 23 percent of all administrators. By 1978 the total had increased to 173 top officials. Of these, 21 percent were Mexican American, 5 percent were black, and 38 percent were women. The figures are very similar for the positions classified as professionals. In 1978 only 18 percent of all black employees and 24 percent of all Mexican Americans were employed in this capacity. In contrast, almost 41 percent of all Anglos employees were in this category. On the other end of the scale, nearly half of all black employees in 1978 were concentrated in the paraprofessional and service and maintenance jobs and over 38 percent of all women employees were assigned to clerical positions.⁴⁴

Despite the fact that San Antonio has a Mexican American population of more than 50 percent, several significant State agencies had a San Antonio work force less than 30 percent Mexican American in 1978. These included: Railroad Commission (10 percent), Texas Alcoholic Beverage Commission (11 percent), Department of Public Safety (15 percent), Texas Surplus Property Agency (9 percent), and the Department of Highways and Transportation (26 percent).⁴⁵

Blacks were underrepresented to an even greater extent in many State agencies in San Antonio. For example, 10 of 25 State agencies in San Antonio in 1978 employed *no* blacks. Included among these were the Attorney General's Office, the Parks and Wildlife Department, and the Railroad Commission. Other agencies with low black employment were: State Comptroller (1 percent), Department of Public

³⁷ U.S., Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, *State and Local Government Information, EEO-4* (October 1973). Data provided by Bexar County.

³⁸ U.S., Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, *State and Local Government Information, EEO-4* (February 1979).

³⁹ *Ibid.*, *State and Local Government Information/EEO-4*, October 1973 and February 1979.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² U.S., Employment Opportunity Commission, *State and Local Government Information, EEO-4, SMSA Summary*, 1973. Data provided by the personnel and equal employment office, Governor's Office, Austin, Tex.

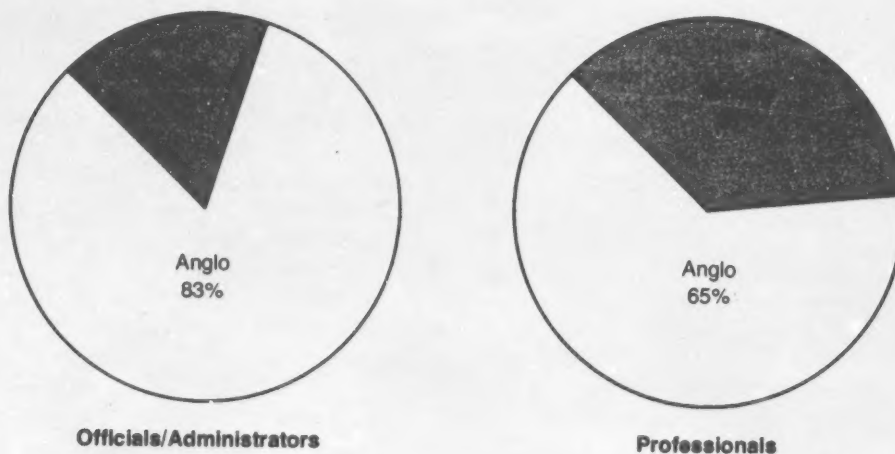
⁴³ U.S., Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, *State and Local Government Information, EEO-4, SMSA Summary*, Texas State Government, 1973 and 1979.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ EEO forms 1978. Provided by individual State agencies.

Figure 6.7

Employment in Bexar County, Official/Administrator and Professional Positions, 1978

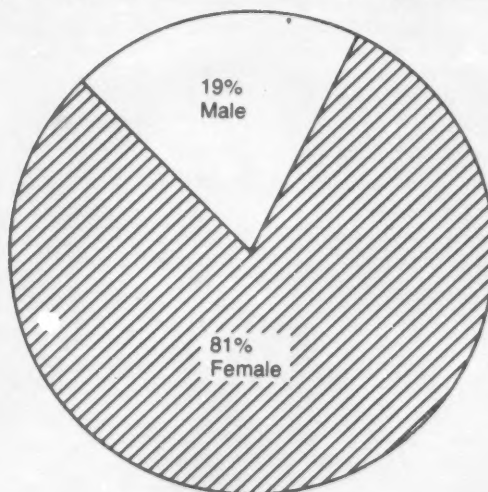


Analysis: Anglos dominate in the better paying jobs in Bexar County government.

Source: U.S., Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, *State and Local Government Information—EEO-4* (February 1978). Provided by Bexar County.

Figure 6.8

Employment in Bexar County, Office and Clerical Positions, 1978



Analysis: Over 80% of all office/clerical positions in the Bexar County work force are held by women.

Source: U.S., Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, *State and Local Government Information—EEO-4* (February 1978). Provided by Bexar County.

Safety (1.3 percent), and Department of Highways and Transportation (2.3 percent).⁴⁶

The pattern of State employment that emerges in San Antonio is that:

The employment of minorities and women has been mainly in the lower paying and less skilled jobs, and this pattern continued as late as 1978. Anglos continue to hold the higher paying jobs in substantial disproportion to their representation in the total work force in State employment. Many State agencies also employ minorities in much fewer numbers than their availability in the labor market.

Federal Government in San Antonio

The economy of San Antonio relies heavily on the great number of Federal dollars that come to the hands of its residents in the form of payroll checks. As of November of 1977, the Federal Government in San Antonio employed 34,111 persons. Minorities constituted about half of the Federal work force while women made up only about 28 percent. These figures represented a slight increase from the statistics available for 1967 when minorities comprised 45 percent of the work force.⁴⁷

It is significant to note that of a total of 17 Federal agencies employing 20 or more persons in San Antonio, 7 had a work force consisting of less than one-third minority employees in 1977.⁴⁸ (See table 6.1.) Also in 1977, 10 of the 17 agencies in San Antonio had less than one-third females in their total employment (see table 6.2).

Overall, only 28 percent of the Federal work force in San Antonio was comprised of women, with minority women about 11 percent of all Federal employees.⁴⁹

The Federal Government has basically three major classifications or pay systems for its employees. The first is the GS (General Schedule and Equivalent) system, commonly called "white collar." The second is the WB (Wage Board) "blue-collar" pay system. And in the postal service there is the Postal Field Service (PFS).

GS Pay System

In 1967 Anglos made up 73 percent of all employees in the GS or white-collar positions. Data

for women were not collected until 1975, when women employees were 41 percent of the GS positions. Minorities and women increased their representation in this pay scale, and by 1977 Mexican Americans constituted 30 percent, blacks 5 percent, and women 45 percent of the GS employment.⁵⁰

In studying where minorities and women are employed in terms of better paying positions, it is important to note that the GS scale runs from a low of 1 to a high of 18. In 1967 more than 80 percent of the minorities were located at or below the GS-8 level while only 53 percent of the Anglos were so classified. The figures 10 years later in 1977 showed little change. In 1977 more than 73 percent of minorities, 49 percent of all Anglos employees, and 83 percent of females were in the GS-1-8 level jobs.⁵¹

On the next level of higher paying jobs (GS-9 and above) the scale shifts. Anglos constituted in 1967 the majority of the employees at this level while only 20 percent of all minorities were so classified. This same picture persisted in 1977, with Anglos holding 51 percent of these jobs and minorities demonstrating a slight increase to 27 percent.

In 1967 Anglos comprised nearly 96 percent of the GS-14 and above positions, with no minorities above the GS-15 level. By 1977 Anglos employees still held 88 percent of these high-paying jobs.⁵²

Within the GS or white-collar Federal jobs, minorities tend to be located in the lower grade levels while Anglos hold most of the higher grade positions.

Wage Board (WB) System

Within the blue-collar positions, minorities outnumbered Anglos by a wide margin in contrast to the white-collar positions discussed above. Overall, minorities made up about 72 percent of the WB work force, while Anglos constituted only about 28 percent. Women were almost totally excluded as late as 1977 from the WB positions.

Employees paid at or below the WB-9 level in 1977 included 57 percent of all minorities and 35 percent of all Anglos. Conversely, nearly 49 percent of the Anglos employees were in the higher grades;

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ U.S., Civil Service Commission, Equal Employment Opportunity Office, *Federal Civilian Work Force Statistics for Women and Minorities in the Dallas Region* (March 1978), table 65, Full Time Federal Minority Employment in All Pay Plans in San Antonio, Tex., p. 109. Also, Bureau of Personnel Management, *Status of Federal Civilian Employees by Pay Plan and Grade, Minority Group, and Sex*, Nov. 30, 1977.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

Table 6.1
Minority Employment in Selected
Federal Agencies, 1977

Department	Percent Minority Employment (1977)
Transportation	18%
Commerce	21%
Justice	24%
Health	25%
Treasury	27%
Agriculture	32%
Housing & Urban Development (HUD)	32%

35 percent of the minorities were so employed. Thus, while minorities outnumbered Anglos they were underrepresented in the better paying positions.⁵³

Postal Field Service System

In 1967 the Post Office in San Antonio employed 2,268 persons, of whom 47 percent were minorities. In 1977 there was a slight decrease in total employment, but the minorities increased their representation to 58 percent.

With respect to grade distribution, 88 percent of all minority employees in 1967 were in the PFS-1-5 grade range. By 1977 this proportion decreased to about 67 percent. There was also a significant change at the higher grade levels. For example, in 1967 only about 12 percent of all minorities were in

⁵³ Ibid., table 67, Full Time Federal Minority Employment in Wage Grade (Blue-Collar) Pay Plans in San Antonio, Tex., p. 111.

⁵⁴ U.S., Civil Service Commission, *Minority Group Employment in the Federal Government* (November 1968), table 4-41a. Also, Bureau of

Table 6.2
Female Employment in Selected
Federal Agencies, 1977

Department	Percent Female Employment (1977)
U.S. Postal Service	5%
Commerce	7%
Transportation	8%
Agriculture	11%
Interior	18%
Defense Supply Agency	24%
Air Force	26%
General Services Administration	28%
Treasury	30%

the PFS-6-9 range. In 1977 nearly 26 percent were in this range.⁵⁴

At the PFS-10 level and above, Anglos made up 89 percent of the total employment in 1967. In 1977 their representation at this level fell to 52 percent.

Women made few gains in their distribution within the various grade levels. In 1975 nearly 66 percent were at the PFS-1-5 level. By 1977, 62 percent of all women employees were in this range. At the PFS-10 level and above, the number of female employees increased from only 7 in 1975 to 12 in 1977. However, as of November 30, 1977, only 5 percent of the entire Post Office work force consisted of women.⁵⁵

The statistics demonstrate that:

In the area of Federal employment, while the employment of minorities and women has increased

Personnel Management, *Status of Federal Civilian Employment by Pay Plan and Grade, Minority Group, and Sex--November 1977* (September 1978).

⁵⁵ Ibid.

in all pay systems since 1968, they are still mainly concentrated in the lower grade and salary levels. Minorities and women are concentrated in the lowest grades; women are underrepresented in Federal employment in San Antonio and earn less than their male counterparts.

Employment trends in the Post Office exhibit an altogether different pattern. Although the size of the work force has declined over the years, the number and proportion of minorities has increased. Moreover, there has been a steady improvement in the grade distribution in the minority work force as compared to Anglos since 1967. However, women remain severely underrepresented in the total work force.

Military Presence in San Antonio

A major boost to the economy of San Antonio is provided by the presence of five major military installations, including Brooks Air Force Base, Kelly Air Force Base, Lackland Air Force Base, Randolph Air Force Base, and Fort Sam Houston. In 1978 they employed more than 29,000 civilian employees whose salaries totaled in excess of \$430 million in that one year.⁵⁶

Kelly Air Force Base

Kelly Air Force Base, located in the south side of San Antonio, was founded in 1917 and has become the largest aircraft repair center in the United States. Kelly is the largest of the five San Antonio bases and employed more than 17,000 civilians in 1978. Of these, minorities represented almost 63 percent and women less than 16 percent.

In December of 1968 the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights heard allegations of discrimination against Mexican Americans and blacks at Kelly. In that year there were 24,000 persons working at Kelly. More than 10,700 were employed in the GS system: 66 percent were Anglos and 34 percent minority. Forty-one percent of all minorities were employed at the GS-1 through GS-4 level; only 11 percent of their Anglo counterparts were at this level.⁵⁷ In contrast, only 26 percent of all minorities but 67 percent of all Anglos were at or above the

GS-9 level. In other words, Anglos constituted 81 percent of all the employees in grades 9-11 and more than 90 percent of all those in grades 12-15.⁵⁸

A similar pattern was evident in the wage board system. Nearly 33 percent of minority employees were at or below the WB-6 level while only 14 percent of Anglos were so situated in 1968.⁵⁹

In the white-collar (GS) positions in 1978, minorities increased their representation to 49 percent while Anglos were 51 percent. In the GS-1-4 level, the percentage of minority representation decreased to 30 percent. For GS-9 and above, only about 29 percent of the total minority work force was employed at this level in 1978. However, nearly 66 percent of all Anglos were at or above the GS-9 level.⁶⁰

In 1978 a similar pattern existed in the wage grade system. Anglos were only about 23 percent of all blue-collar workers but represented 37 percent of those in higher grades WB-13-15.⁶¹

With respect to women, their employment has remained fairly stable within the blue-collar system, with most concentrated in the lower grade levels. For example, in 1968, 67.2 percent of all Anglos female GS employees at Kelly were at or below the GS-8 level. For minority women, the figure was 93.5 percent.⁶²

In 1978, 68 percent of all Anglos and about 92 percent of all minority women employed in the GS system were located at or below the GS-8 level. Over half of all minority women and nearly one-third of all Anglos were in the GS-1-4 level.⁶³

The pattern found in 1968 had changed very little in 1978 despite the fact that the proportion of minorities at Kelly increased significantly from 1968 to 1978.

The pattern found at Kelly is indicative of the employment at several other bases. Conclusions based on research by the Southwestern Regional Office of the Commission on Civil Rights are:

Brooks Air Force Base

At Brooks, the inescapable conclusion is that minorities and women—especially minority women—have been concentrated at the lowest grade levels. Even though the proportion of minorities in

⁵⁶ Greater San Antonio Chamber of Commerce, Economics Research Department, *Military Statistics: The Economic Impact on San Antonio—1978* (January 1979).

⁵⁷ U.S., Department of the Air Force, Headquarters, San Antonio Air Logistics Center, San Antonio ALC Workforce Summary, 1969-1978, Kelly, AFB, TX. (computer printout).

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid.

both the GS and WG systems has increased since 1968, the general pattern of concentration has persisted.⁶⁴

Lackland Air Force Base

Minorities are located primarily in the very low grade levels at Lackland. This pattern seems to have persisted over the years although some upward movement in both the GS and WG systems is evident. In any case, Anglos held the majority of all the upper level jobs in both systems despite their overall decline since 1968.⁶⁵

Randolph Air Force Base

While there has been only a modest increase in the number of minorities employed in the GS system at Randolph since 1968, there has been some significant movement of these employees into the higher grade levels. However, female GS employees were concentrated in the lowest grade levels.

The employment situation for minorities in the WG system also showed some improvement. Minorities have been able to move up, although Anglos

occupied most of the higher level and supervisory jobs.⁶⁶

Fort Sam Houston

The pattern found at Fort Sam Houston is similar to that found at the other military installations in San Antonio. Generally, the proportion of minorities increased in both systems; however, most were concentrated at the lowest grade levels. Most women were located in the lowest grades in both systems, and representation of minorities at the higher grade levels appears to have deteriorated for the 10-year period studied.

Figures 6.9-6.13 show the distribution of the GS work force at each of the five military installations for the years 1968 and 1978.

While limited progress has been made in the area of equal employment opportunity by the military installations of San Antonio, there is a great deal of room for improvement. While the percentage of minority employment has increased overall, minorities and women are heavily concentrated in the lower paying grade levels. This pattern has generally persisted for 10 years.

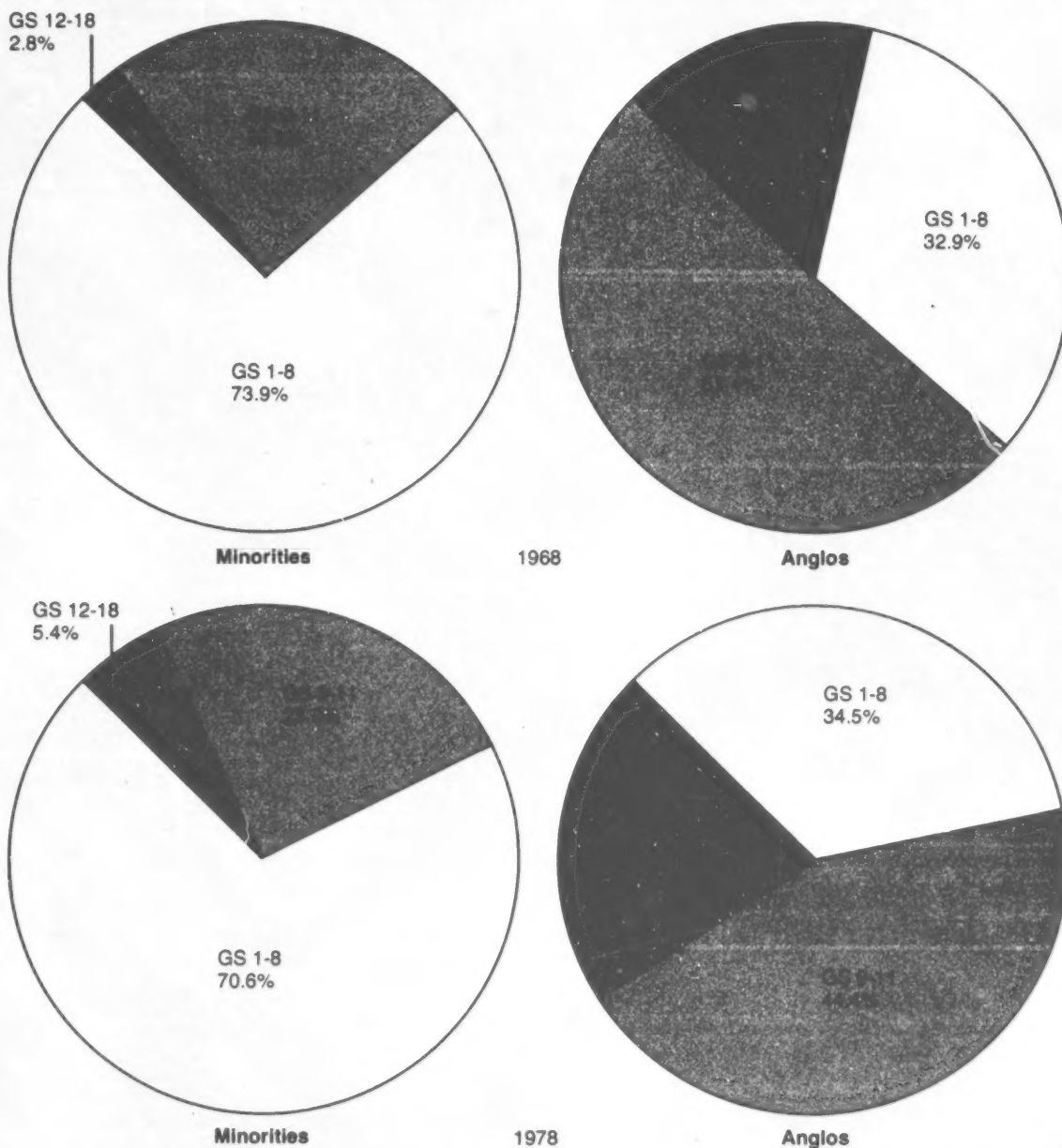
⁶⁴ U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, Southwestern Regional Office, *A Study in Employment Patterns—San Antonio Case Study: 1968-1978* (December 1979). Note: Conclusions for Brooks Air Force Base and subsequent military installations in San Antonio are based on findings presented in the above report.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

Figure 6.9

Kelly Air Force Base, Employment by Grade Levels, 1968 and 1978

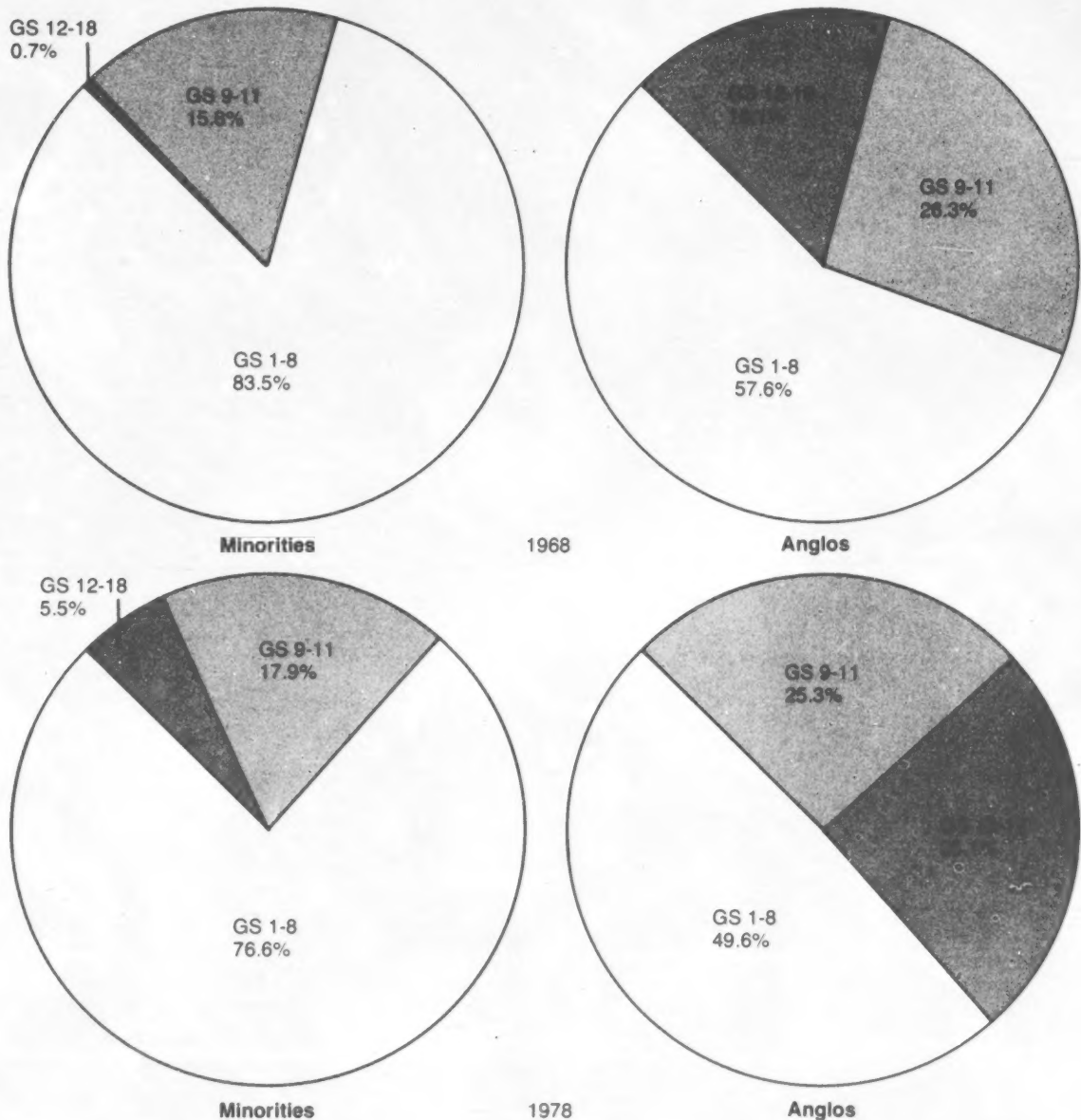


Analysis: In 1968, minority employees at Kelly were concentrated at the lower grade levels while most Anglos were at higher grade levels. After ten years, the same pattern persists.

U.S. Department of the Air Force, San Antonio Logistics Center, San Antonio ALC Workforce Summary 1969-1978, Kelly AFB, Tex. (computer printout). Provided by base personnel office.

Figure 6.10

Brooks Air Force Base, Employment by Grade Levels, 1968 and 1978

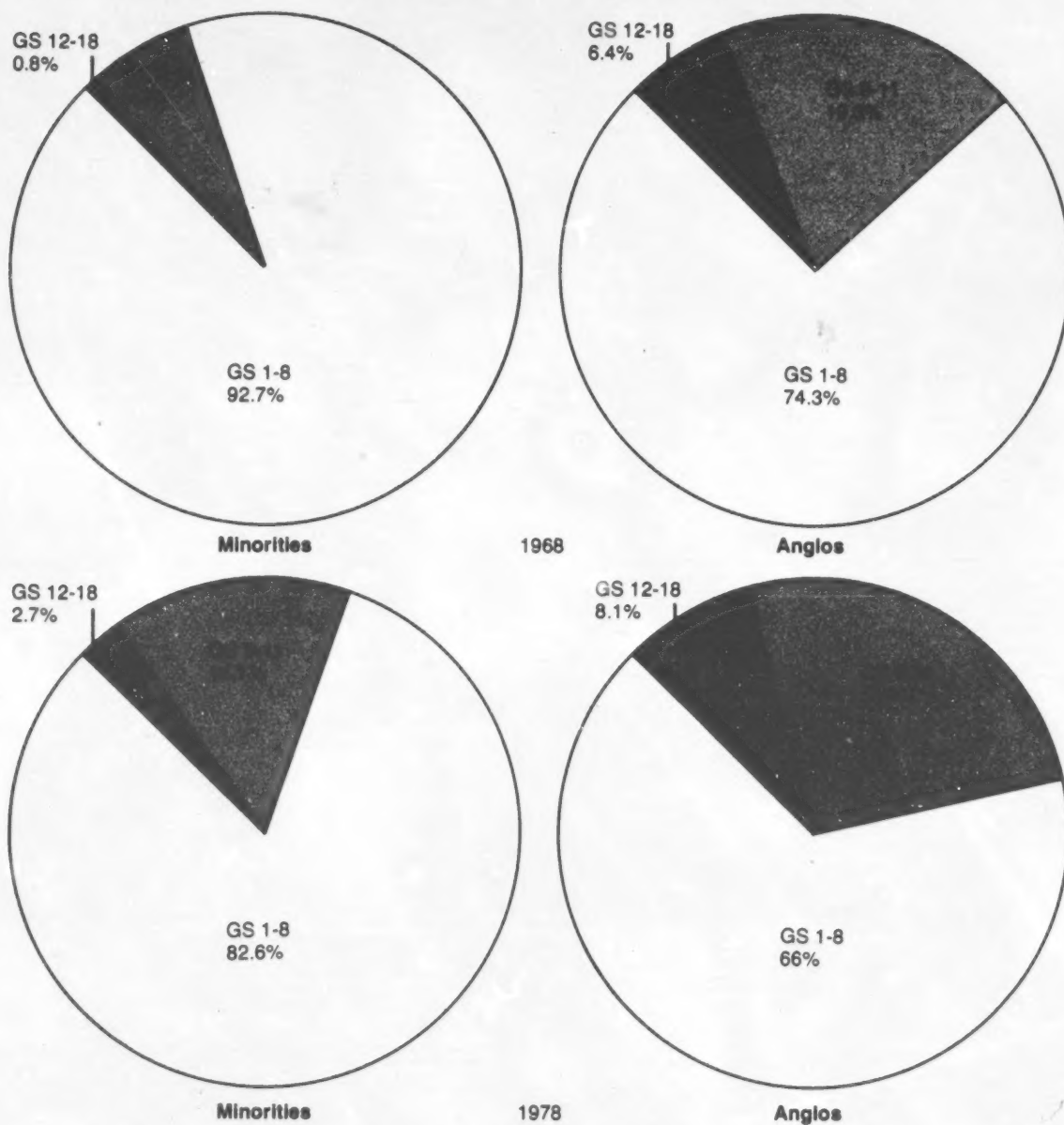


Analysis: In both 1968 and 1978, over three-fourths of minority employment is at the GS 1-8 level. By contrast, in 1978, over half of Anglo employment is at the GS 9 level and above.

Source: U.S. Civil Service Commission, *Report of Full-time Federal Civilian Employment by Minority Status as of Nov. 30, 1967*. USCSC3-1080. Department of the Air Force, Headquarters 6570th Air Base Group, *EEO Assessment Report, 1978*. Brooks AFB, Tex.

Figure 6.11

Lackland Air Force Base, Employment by Grade Levels, 1968 and 1978

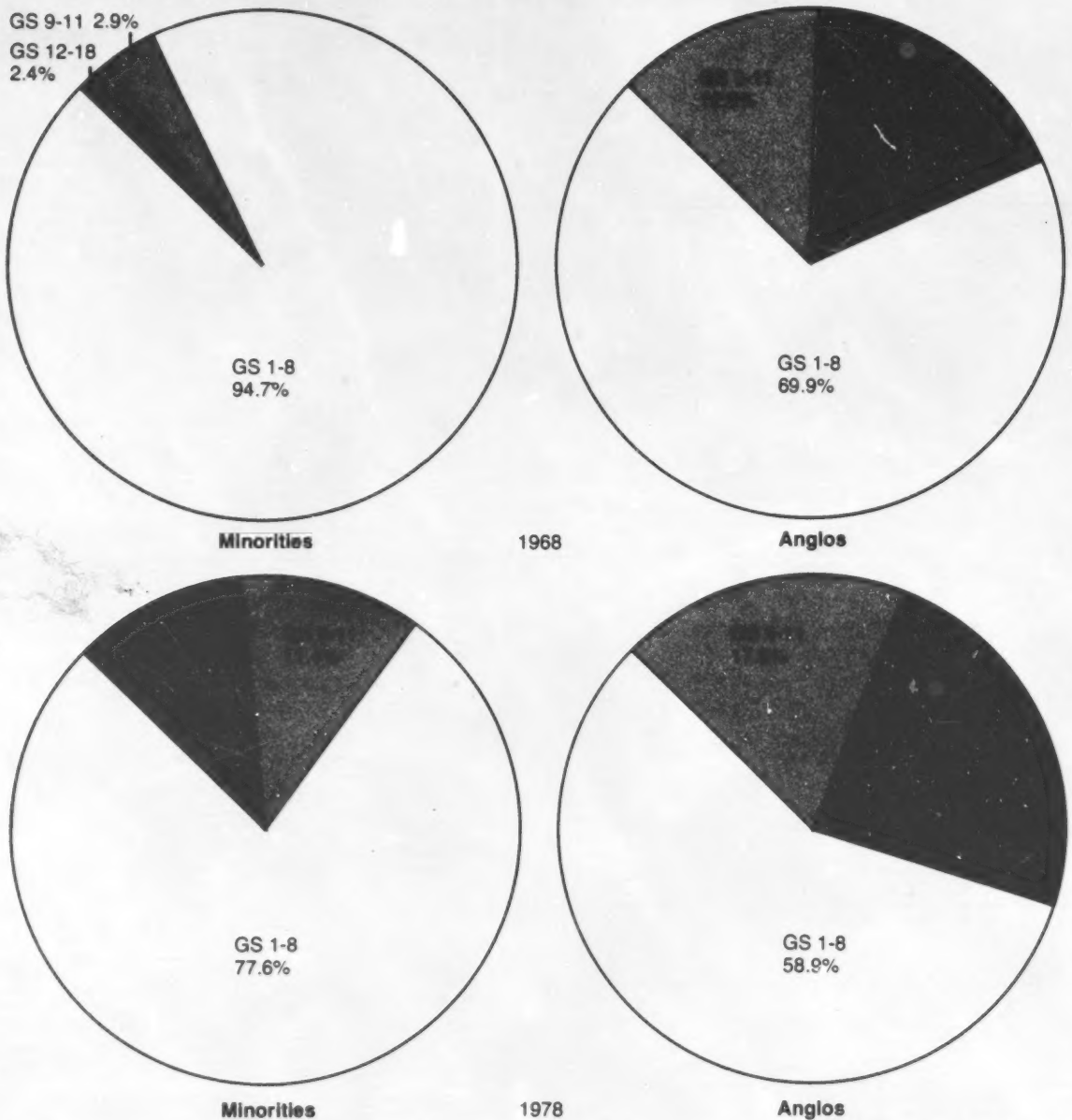


Analysis: While there has been some improvement, the overwhelming percentage of minorities at Lackland are concentrated in the lower level jobs. Anglos are much better represented at the higher levels.

Source: U.S., Civil Service Commission, *Report of Full-Time Federal Civilian Employment by Minority Status as of Nov. 30, 1967*. USCSC-1080. Department of the Air Force, Headquarters Air Force Military Training Center (ATC), EEO Assessment Report Workforce Census, Lackland AFB, TX, 1978.

Figure 6.12

Randolph Air Force Base, Employment by Grade Levels, 1968 and 1978

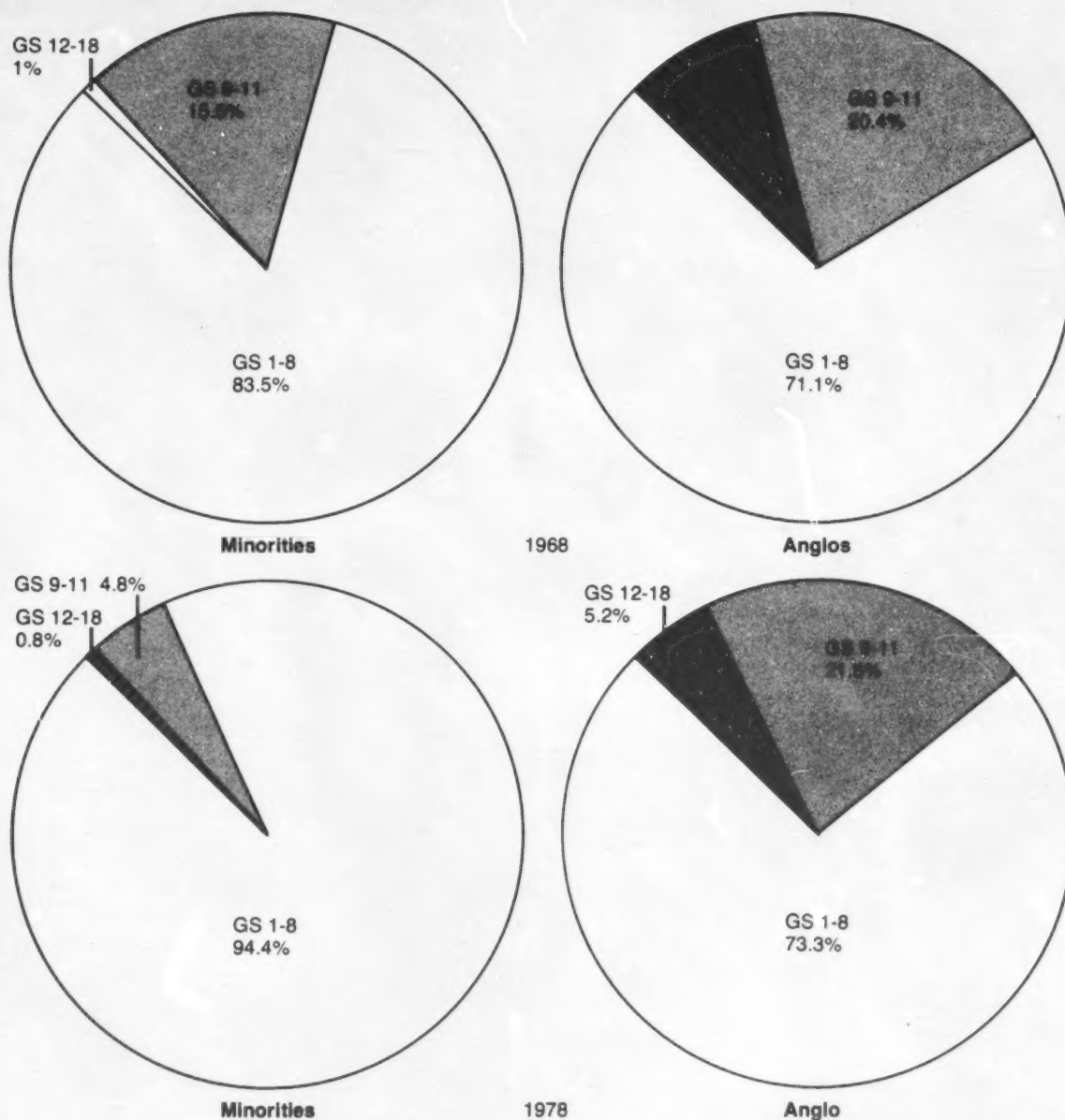


Analysis: While Anglos are better represented at higher grade levels, minorities have made some significant gains between 1968 and 1978.

Source: Civil Service Commission, *Report of Full-time Federal Civilian Employment by Minority Status as of Nov. 30, 1967*. USCSC-1080. Department of the Air Force, 12th Flying Training Wing—EEO Assessment Report—Workforce Census—Randolph AFB, TX., 1978.

Figure 6.13

Fort Sam Houston, Employment by Grade Levels, 1968 and 1978



Analysis: In a ten-year period, minority concentrations at the lower grade levels have actually *increased*. The situation for Anglos has not changed dramatically, while minorities have suffered serious setbacks.

Source: U.S. Civil Service Commission, *Report of Full-Time Federal Civilian Employment by Minority Status as of Nov. 30, 1967*. USCSC-1080. Department of the Army, Headquarters Fort Sam Houston, *Equal Employment Opportunity Fiscal Year 1979 Plan of Action*, Fort Sam Houston, Tex. 1978.